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MEMOIRS

OF

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,

SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

CONTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS INDIAN CAMPAIGNS, AND DEFENSE OF NEW-ORLEANS; AND NUMEROUS ANECDOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS CHARACTER: TOGETHER WITH HIS VETO OF THE BANK BILL; PROCLAMATION TO THE NULLIFIERS; FAREWELL ADDRESS, &C., &C.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE EULOGY OF HON. GEO. BANCROFT,

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMPILED BY A CITIZEN OF WESTERN NEW-YORK.

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THE HERO SLEEPS!

Go bring his battle-blade,
His helmet and his plume;
And be his trophies laid
Beside him in the tomb.

Green be the willow bough
Above the swelling mound,
While sleeps the hero now
In consecrated ground;
When files of time-worn veterans come,
With martial trump and muffled drum.

PREFACE.

In the preparation of the following work for the press, the compiler has consulted the best authorities; and it is believed the Biographical portion is strictly correct. He has purposely omitted any extended sketch of the political life of General Jackson, believing that the time has not yet come, when the American People are prepared to judge dispassionately, and without prejudice, of this portion of his life.

It may be safely said, that no man has lived since the formation of the Federal Union, (except, perhaps, Washington,) who has stamped the impress of his character more strongly upon the institutions of our country, than Andrew Jackson; none who has had warmer personal and political admirers; and surely none who has had more determined and bitter opponents. These feelings, though fast being modified, still, to some extent, exist; and though his mortal remains now lie

entombed with the *being* he loved, and his spirit has gone to be judged by another than human tribunal, and the fame of his deeds, and his example, are all that is left us—there still remain many of his combatants upon the field: "We tread on ashes where the fire is not extinguished." We think, therefore, the time has not fully arrived, when his countrymen are prepared to judge of his political actions with that calmness and impartiality that History demands.

The compiler has, consequently, in the preparation of his work, confined himself to that portion of his life which a great and thankful people have sealed with their approbation.

The more minute Biography closes with the triumphant defense of New-Orleans; and this portion is illustrated with such anecdotes of his private and official character as were within reach.

Several of his more important State papers, which have now a place in the permanent political history of this Republic, as well as the eloquent Eulogy of Hon. GEORGE BANCROFT, have been added.

Believing that a work less expensive than "Kendall's Life of Jackson," (which is yet only in part published,) that should place within the reach of all who wish to read, the principal circumstances in General JACKSON'S eventful life, was desired by the public, the compiler submits this work for their accept-

ance. He claims nothing for originality—it is simply a compilation.

Should it contribute in any degree to a more thorough knowledge of the early life and character, and to a better and easier acquaintance with the important State papers of the HERO OF NEW-ORLEANS, and the MAN OF THE AGE, then will be satisfied the utmost wish of the

COMPILER.

AUBURN, September 30, 1845.

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THE LIFE

OF

ANDREW JACKSON.

CHAPTER I.

FROM 1767 TO 1812.

His birth and parentage—Enters the American Revolutionary army—Cruelty of a British officer—Death of his brother and mother—Studies the law in North Carolina—Settles in Tennessee as a barrister—Chosen a member of the Tennessee Convention—Elected a member of Congress—Chosen a Senator of the Congress—Made Major-General of Tennessee—Resigns his seat in the Senate—Appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court—Resigns and retires to his farm.

Andrew Jackson was born on the 15th day of March, 1767. His father, (Andrew,) the youngest son of his family, emigrated to America from Ireland during the year 1765, bringing with him two sons, Hugh and Robert, both very young. Landing at Charleston, in South Carolina, he shortly afterward purchased a tract of land, in what was then called the Waxsaw settlement, about forty-five miles above Camden; at which place the subject of this history was born. Shortly after his birth, his father died, leaving three sons to be provided for by their mother. She appears to have been an exemplary woman, and to have executed the arduous duties which had devolved on her with great faithfulness and with much success. To the lessons she inculcated on the youthful minds

of her sons was, no doubt, owing, in a great measure, that fixed opposition to British tyranny and oppression, which afterward so much distinguished them. Often would she spend the winter's evenings in recounting to them the sufferings of their grandfather at the seige of Carrickfergus, and the oppressions exercised by the nobility of Ireland over the laboring poor; impressing it upon them as a first duty, to expend their lives, if it should become necessary, in defending and supporting the natural rights of man.

Inheriting but a small patrimony from their father, it was impossible that all the sons could receive an expensive education. The two eldest were therefore only taught the rudiments of their mother tongue, at a common country school. But Andrew, being intended by his mother for the ministry, was sent to a flourishing academy at the Waxsaw meeting-house, superintended by Mr. Humphries. Here he was placed at the study of the dead languages, and continued until the revolutionary war, extending its ravages into that section of South Carolina where he then was, rendered it necessary that every one should betake himself to the American standard, seek protection with the enemy, or flee his country. It was not an alternative that admitted of a tedious deliberation. The natural ardor of his temper, deriving encouragement from the recommendations of his mother, whose feelings were not less alive on the occasion than his own, and excited by those sentiments in favor of liberty with which, by her conversation, his mind had been early imbued, quickly determined him in the course to be pursued; and at the tender age of fourteen, accompanied by his brother Robert, he hastened to the American camp, and engaged actively in the service of his country. His oldest brother, who had previously joined the army, had lost his life at the battle of Stono, from the excessive heat of the weather and the fatigues of the day.

Both Andrew and Robert were at this period pretty well acquainted with the manual exercise, and had some idea of the different evolutions of the field, having been indulged by their mother in attending the drill and general musters of the neighborhood.

The Americans being unequal, as well from the inferiority

of their numbers as their discipline, to engage the British army in battle, had retired before it into the interior of North Carolina; but when they learned that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Yadkin, they returned in small detachments to their native state. On their arrival they found Lord Rawden in possession of Camden, and the whole country around in a state of desolation. The British commander being advised of the return of the settlers of Waxsaw, Major Coffin was immediately despatched thither with a corps of light dragoons, a company of infantry, and a considerable number of tories, for their capture and destruction. Hearing of their approach, the settlers without delay appointed the Waxsaw meeting-house as a place of rendezvous, that they might the better collect their scattered strength, and concert some system of operations. About forty of them had accordingly assembled at this point, when the enemy approached, keeping the tories, who were dressed in the common garb of the country, in front, whereby this little band of patriots were completely deceived, having taken them for Captain Nisbet's company, in expectation of which they had been waiting. Eleven of them were taken prisoners; the rest with difficulty fled, scattering and betaking themselves to the woods for concealment. Of those who thus escaped, though closely pursued, were Andrew Jackson and his brother, who, entering a secret bend in a creek that was close at hand, obtained a momentary respite from danger, and avoided, for the night, the pursuit of the enemy. The next day, however, having gone to a neighboring house for the purpose of procuring something to eat, they were broken in upon, and made prisoners, by Coffin's dragoons and a party of tories who accompanied them. Those young men, with a view to security, had placed their horses in the wood, on the margin of a small creek, and posted a sentinel on the road which led by the house, that they might have information of any approach, and in time to elude it. But the tories, who were well acquainted with the country and the passes through the forest, had unfortunately passed the creek at the very point where the horses and baggage of our young soldiers were deposited, and taken possession of them. Having done this, they cautiously approached the house, and were almost at the

door before they were discovered. To escape was impossible, and both were made prisoners. Being placed under guard, Andrew was ordered, in a very imperious tone, by a British officer, to clean his boots, which had become muddied in crossing the creek. This order he positively and peremptorily refused to obey; alleging that he looked for such treatment as a prisoner of war had a right to expect. Incensed at his refusal, the officer aimed a blow at his head with a drawn sword, which would very probably have terminated his existence, had he not parried its effects by throwing up his left hand, on which he received a severe wound, the mark of which he bore to the day of his death. His brother, at the same time, for a silmilar offense, received a deep cut on the head, which subsequently occasioned his death. They were both now taken to jail, where, separated and confined, they were treated with marked severity, until a few days after the battle before Camden, when, in consequence of a partial exchange, effected by the intercessions and exertions of their mother, and Captain Walker of the militia, they were both released from confinement. Captain Walker, in a charge on the rear of the British army, had succeeded in making thirteen prisoners, whom he gave in exchange for seven Americans, of which number were these two young men. Robert, during his confinement in prison, had suffered greatly, the wound on his head, all this time having never been dressed, was followed by an inflammation of the brain, which, in a few days after his liberation brought him to his grave. To add to the affliction of Andrew, his mother, worn down by grief and her incessant exertions to provide clothing and other comforts for the suffering prisoners who had been taken from her neighborhood, expired in a few weeks after her son, near the lines of the enemy, in the vicinity of Charleston. Andrew, the last and only surviving child, confined to a bed of sickness, occasioned by the sufferings he had been compelled to undergo while a prisoner, and by getting wet on his return from captivity, was thus left in the wide world without a human being with whom he could claim near relationship. The small-pox, about the same time having made its appearance upon him, had well-nigh terminated his sorrows and his existence.

Having at length recovered from his complicated afflictions, he entered upon the enjoyment of his estate, which, although small, would have been sufficient, under prudent management, to have completed his education on the liberal scale his mother had designed. Unfortunately, however, he, like too many young men, sacrificing future prosperity to present gratification, expended it with too profuse a hand. Coming at length to foresee that he should be finally obliged to rely on his own exertions for support and success in life, he again betook himself to his studies with increased industry. He recommenced under Mr. M'Culloch, in that part of Carolina which was then called the New Acquisition, near Hill's iron works. Here he studied the languages, devoting a portion of his time to a desultory course of studies.

His education being now completed, so far as his wasted patrimony and the limited opportunities then afforded in that section of the country would permit, at the age of eighteen he turned his attention to acquiring a profession, and preparing himself to enter on the busy scenes of life. The pulpit, for which he had been designed by his mother, was now abandoned for the bar; and, in the winter of 1784, he repaired to Salisbury, in North Carolina, and commenced the study of law, under Spruce M'Cay, Esq., afterwards one of the judges of that state, and subsequently continued it under Colonel John Stokes. Having remained at Salisbury until the winter of 1786, he obtained a license from the judges to practice law, and continued in the state until the spring of 1788.

The observations he was enabled, during this time, to make, satisfied him that this state presented few inducements to a young attorney; and recollecting that he stood solitary in life, without relations to aid him in the onset, when innumerable difficulties arise and retard success, he determined to seek a new country. But for this he might have again returned to his native state. The death, however, of every relation he had, had wiped away all those endearing recollections and circumstances which warp the mind to the place of its nativity. The western parts of the state of Tennessee were, about this time, often spoken of as presenting flattering prospects to adventurers. He immediately determined to accom-

pany Judge M'Nairy thither, who had been appointed, and was going out, to hold the first supreme court that had ever sat in the state. Having reached the Holston, they ascertained it would be impossible to arrive at the time appointed for the session of the court; and therefore determined to remain in that section of the country until fall. They recommenced their journey in October, and passing through an extensive uninhabited country, reached Nashville in the same month. It had not been Jackson's intention certainly to make Tennessee the place of his future residence; his visit was merely experimental, and his stay remained to be determined by the advantages that might be disclosed: but finding, soon after his arrival, that a considerable opening was offered for the success of a young attorney, he determined to remain. To one of refined feelings, the prospect before him was certainly not of an encouraging cast. As in all newly settled countries must be the case, society was loosely formed, and united by but few of those ties which have a tendency to enforce the performance of moral duty and the right execution of justice. The young men of the place, adventurers from different sections of the country, had become indebted to the merchants; there was but one lawyer in the country, and they had so contrived as to retain him in their business; the consequence was, that the merchants were entirely deprived of the means of enforcing against those gentlemen the execution of their contracts. In this state of things, Jackson made his appearance at Nashville, and, while the creditor class looked to it with great satisfaction, the debtors were sorely displeased. Applications were immediately made to him for his professional services, and on the morning after his arrival, he issued seventy writs. To those prodigal gentlemen it was an alarming circumstance; their former security was impaired; but that it might not wholly depart, they determined to force him, in some way or other, to leave the country; and to effect this, broils and quarrels with him were resorted to. This, however, was soon abandoned; satisfied, by the first controversy in which they had involved him, that his decision and firmness were such as to leave no hope of effecting any thing through this channel. Disregarding the opposition raised to

him, he continued, with care and industry, to press forward in his professional course; and his attention soon brought him forward, and introduced him to a profitable practice. Shortly afterward he was appointed attorney-general for the district, in which capacity he continued to act for several years.

Indian depredations being then frequent on the Cumberland, every man, of necessity, became a soldier. Unassisted by the government, the settlers were forced to rely for security on their own bravery and exertions. Although young, no person was more distinguished than Andrew Jackson in defending the country against these predatory incursions of the savages, who continually harrassed the frontiers, and not unfrequently approached the heart of the settlements, which were thin, but not widely extended. He aided alike in garrisoning the forts, and in pursuing and chastising the enemy.

In the year 1796, having, by his patriotism, firmness, and talents, secured to himself a distinguished standing with all classes, he was chosen one of the members of the convention for establishing a constitution for the State. His good conduct and zeal for the public interest, and the republican feelings and sentiments which were conspicuously disclosed in the formation and arrangement of this instrument, brought him more prominently to view; and, without proposing or soliciting, he was in the same year elected a Member of the House of Representatives in Congress, for the State of Tennessee. The following year, his reputation continuing to increase, and every bosom feeling a wish to raise him to still higher honors, he was chosen a Senator of the United States Congress, and took his seat on the 22d day of November, 1797. About the middle of April, business of an important and private nature, imposed on him the necessity of asking leave of absence, and returning home. Leave was granted, and before the next session he resigned his seat. He was but a little more than thirty years of age; and hence scarcely eligible by the constitution at the time he was elected. The sedition law, about which so much concern and feeling had been manifested through the country, was

introduced into the Senate by Mr. Lloyd, of Maryland, in June, 1798, and passed that body on the 4th of July following; hence the name of Jackson, owing to the leave of absence which had been granted him in April, does not appear on the journals. On the alien law, however, and the effort to repeal the stamp act, he was present, resting in the minority, and on the side of the republican principles of the country.

The State of Tennessee, on its admission into the Union, comprising but one military division, and General Conway, who commanded it as major-general, dying about this time, Jackson, without being consulted on the subject, and without the least intimation of what was in agitation, was, as the constitution of the State directs, chosen by the field-officers to succeed him; which appointment he continued to hold until May, 1814, when he was constituted a major-general in the United States' service.

Becoming tired of political life, for the intrigues of which he declared himself unqualified, and having for two years voted in the minority in Congress, he resigned, after the first session, his seat in the Senate. To this measure he was strongly induced, from a desire to make way for General Smith, who he conjectured would in that capacity be able to render more important services to the government than himself. His country, unwilling that his talents should remain inactive and unemployed, again demanded his services. Immediately after his resignation, he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State. Sensibly alive to the difficult duties of this station, distrusting his legal acquirements, and impressed with the great injury he might produce to suitors by erroneous decisions, he advanced to the office with reluctance, and in a short time resigned, leaving it open for those who he believed were better qualified than himself to discharge its intricate and important duties. Unambitious of those distinctions and honors, which young men are usually proud to possess, and finding too that his circumstances and condition in life were not such as to permit his time and attention to be devoted to public matters, he determined to yield them into other hands, and to devote himself

to agricultural pursuits: and accordingly settled himself on an excellent farm ten miles from Nashville, on the Cumberland river, where for several years he enjoyed all the comforts of domestic and social intercourse. Abstracted from the busy scenes of public life, pleased with retirement, surrounded by friends whom he loved, and who entertained for him the highest veneration and respect, and blessed with an amiable and obedient wife, nothing seemed wanting to the completion of that happiness which he so anxiously desired while in office.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1812, TO THE MONTH OF MAY IN THAT YEAR.

He is called from his retirement—Assembles 2500 volunteers—Descends the Mississippi 300 miles—Is ordered to disband his troops and give up his stores to the regular army stationed there—Refuses to comply with the order—Fulfills his compact with his volunteers, by taking them back safely to their homes.

THE repose of Jackson, and the pleasures derived from his farm, were now destined to be abandoned for the duties of public life. After many years of negotiation and entreaty with Great Britain,—after forbearance such as no country in the world ever showed before,—the Congress, unanimously called upon by the people for that purpose, *declared war* against Great Britain.

The Government of the United States, during the same year in which they declared the war, made preparations for calling out volunteers for the defense of the country. Jackson, then happy on his farm in the neighborhood of Nashville, which lies in about the middle of the fine State of Tennessee, which is bounded on the north by Kentucky, on the east by the Allegany mountains, on the south by the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and on the west by the great river Mississippi,—Jackson, happy on his farm, in the midst of this fine and flourishing State, and retired as he apparently thought for ever, from all public affairs, though only forty-five years of age,—was again roused by the insults that had been so repeatedly offered to his country, by the wrongs inflicted upon her citizens, and by the recollection, no doubt, of the death of his mother, of the death of his brother Robert, of the cause of those deaths; and, if he could have forgotten the horrid account of the injuries inflicted upon the country of his father and his mother, there was that scar on his hand, inflicted by a British officer, who had aimed a blow at his life because he had refused to clean the dirt off his boots; there was that scar to keep his virtu-

ous resentment alive, even if he could have forgotten the wrongs of Ireland, and the ruin and extermination of every relation in the world.

Nevertheless, he did not seek a command in the regular army which was about to be raised; but the Congress having passed an act in February, and another in July, 1812, authorizing the President (then Madison) to accept of the services of fifty thousand volunteers, he addressed the citizens of his division, and twenty-five hundred flocked to his standard. A tender of them having been made, and the offer accepted, in November, 1812, he received orders to place himself at their head and to descend the Mississippi, for the defense of the lower country, which was then supposed to be in danger. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, 1812, those troops rendezvoused at Nashville prepared to advance to the place of their destination; and although the weather was then excessively severe, and the ground covered with snow, no troops could have displayed greater firmness. The general was everywhere with them, inspiring them with the ardor that animated his own bosom. The cheerful spirit with which they submitted to hardships and bore privations on the very onset of their military career, as well as the order and subordination they so readily observed, were happy presages of what was to be expected when they should be directed to face an enemy.

Natchez is a town on the banks of the Mississippi, full three hundred miles from Nashville, and about a hundred miles from New-Orleans, which is near the mouths of the Mississippi. Natchez was the place of rendezvous. He arrived there in the month of January; and very soon afterward, there took place a transaction which gave the Government of the United States a specimen of that inflexibility of character in him which has since been so fully developed, under circumstances of greater peril than any other man has ever encountered.

Having procured supplies, and made the necessary arrangments for an active campaign, they proceeded the 7th of January, 1813, on their journey; and, descending the Ohio and Mississippi through cold and ice, arrived and halted

at Natchez. Here Jackson had been instructed to remain until he should receive further orders. Having chosen a healthy site for the encampment of his troops, he devoted his time, with the utmost industry, to training and preparing them for active service. The clouds of war, however, in that quarter having blown over, an order was received from the Secretary of War, dated the 5th of January, 1813, directing him, on the receipt thereof, to dismiss those under his command from service, and to take measures for delivering over every article of public property in his possession to Brigadier-general Wilkinson. When this order reached his camp, there were one hundred and fifty on the sick report, fifty-six of whom were unable to rise from their beds, and almost the whole of them destitute of the means of defraying the expenses of their return. The consequence of a strict compliance with the Secretary's order inevitably would have been, that many of the sick must have perished, while most of the others, from their destitute condition, would of necessity have been compelled to enlist in the regular army, under General Wilkinson. Such alternatives were neither congenial with their general's wishes nor such as they had expected, on adventuring with him in the service of their country. He had carried them from home, and, the fate of war and disease apart, it was his duty, he believed, to bring them back. Whether an expectation that, by this plan, many of them would be forced into the regular ranks, had formed any part of the motive that occasioned the order for their discharge at so great a distance from home, cannot be known; and it would be uncharitable to insinuate against the Government so serious an accusation, without the strongest evidence to support it. Be this as it may, General Jackson could not think of sacrificing or injuring an army that had shown such devotedness to their country; and he determined to disregard the order, and march them again to their homes, where they had been embodied, rather than discharge them where they would be exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers. To this measure he was prompted, not only by the reasons already mentioned, but by the consideration that many of the troops under his command were young men, the children of

his neighbors and acquaintances, who had delivered them into his hands as to a guardian, who, with parental solicitude, would watch over and protect their welfare. To have abandoned them, therefore, at such a time, and under such circumstances, would have drawn on him the merited censure of the most deserving part of his fellow-citizens, and deeply wounded his own generous feelings. Add to this, those young men who were confined by sickness, learning the nature of the order he had received, implored him, with tears in their eyes, not to abandon them in so great an extremity, reminding him at the same time of his assurances, that he would be to them as a father, and of the implicit confidence they had placed in his word. This was an appeal which it would have been difficult for the feelings of Jackson to have resisted, had it been without the support of other weighty considerations; but, influenced by them all, he had no hesitation in coming to a determination.

Having made known his resolution to the field-officers of his division, it met, apparently, their approbation; but, after retiring from his presence, they assembled late at night in secret caucus, and proceeded to recommend to him an abandonment of his purpose, and an immediate discharge of his troops. Great as was the astonishment which this measure excited in the General, it produced a still higher sentiment of indignation. In reply, he urged the duplicity of their conduct, and reminded them that, although to those who possessed funds and health such a course could produce no inconvenience, yet to the unfortunate soldier, who was alike destitute of both, no measure could be more calamitous. He concluded by telling them that his resolution, not having been hastily concluded on, nor founded on light considerations, was unalterably fixed; and that immediate preparations must be made for carrying into execution the determination he had formed.

He lost no time in making known to the Secretary of War the resolution he had adopted, to disregard the order he had given, and to return his army to the place where he had received it. He painted in strong terms the evils which the course pursued by the Government was calculated to produce,

and expressed the astonishment he felt that it should have originated with the once redoubted advocate of soldiers' rights.

General Wilkinson, to whom the public property was directed to be delivered, learning the determination which had been taken by Jackson to march his troops back, and to take with them so much of that property as should be necessary to their return, in a letter of solemn and mysterious import, admonished him of the consequences which were before him, and of the awful and dangerous responsibility he was taking on himself by so bold a measure. General Jackson replied, that his conduct, and the consequences to which it might lead, had been deliberately weighed and well considered, and that he was prepared to abide the result, whatever it might be. Wilkinson had previously given orders to his officers to recruit from Jackson's army; they were advised, however, on their first appearance, that those troops were already in the service of the United States, and that, thus situated, they should not be enlisted; and that he would arrest and confine the first officer, who dared to enter his encampment with any such object in view.

The quarter-master, having been ordered to furnish the necessary transportation for the conveyance of the sick and the baggage to Tennessee, immediately set about the performance of the task; but, as the event proved, with not the least intention of executing it. Still, he continued to keep up the semblance of exertion; and the better to deceive, the very day before that which had been appointed for breaking up the encampment and commencing the return march, eleven wagons arrived there by his order. The next morning, however, when every thing was about to be packed up, acting doubtless from orders, and intending to produce embarrassment, the quarter-master entered the encampment, and discharged the whole. He was grossly mistaken in the man he had to deal with, and had now played his tricks too far to be able to accomplish the object which he had, no doubt, been intrusted to effect. Disregarding their dismissal, so evidently designed to prevent his marching back his men, General Jackson seized upon these wagons, yet within his lines, and compelled them to proceed in the transportation of his sick.

It deserves to be recollected that this quarter-master, so soon as he received directions for furnishing transportation, had despatched an express to General Wilkinson; and there can be but little doubt, that the course of duplicity he afterward pursued was a concerted plan between him and that general to defeat the design of Jackson, compel him to abandon the course he had adopted, and in this way draw to the regular army many of the soldiers, who, from necessity, would be driven to enlist. In this attempt they were fortunately disappointed. Adhering to his original purpose, he successfully resisted every stratagem of Wilkinson, and marched the whole of his division to the section of country whence they had been drawn, and dismissed them from service, as he had been instructed.

To present an example that might buoy up the sinking spirits of his troops in the long and arduous march before them, he yielded up his horses to the sick, and, trudging on foot, he encountered all the hardships that were met by the soldiers. It was at a time of year when the roads were extremely bad, and the swamps lying in their passage deep and full; yet, under these circumstances, he gave his troops an example of patience and endurance of hardship that lulled to silence all complaints, and won to him, still stronger than before, the esteem and respect of every one. On arriving at Nashville, he communicated to the President of the United States the course he had pursued, and the reasons that had induced it. If it had become necessary, he had sufficient grounds on which he could have justified his conduct. Had he suffered General Wilkinson to have accomplished that which was clearly his intention, although it was an event which might at the moment have benefitted the service, by adding an increased strength to the army, yet the example would have been of so serious and exceptionable a character, that injury would have been the final and unavoidable result. Whether the intention of thus forcing these men to enlist into the regular ranks had its existence under the direction of the Government or not, such would have been the universal belief; and all would have felt a deep abhorrence at beholding the patriots of the country drawn off from their homes

under pretense of danger; while the concealed design was, by increasing their necessities at a distance from their residence, to compel them to an act which they would have abstained from under different circumstances. His conduct, terrible as it might at first appear, was, in the end, approved, and the expenses incurred were directed to be paid by the Government.

CHAPTER III.

FROM MAY, 1813, TO APRIL, 1814.

His Indian campaign—Battles—Discontent in his army—Proof of his unparalleled fortitude and resolution—Unexpected embarrassments—Success.

Jackson, having taken his volunteers safely back to their own country, he discharged them, there being little or no expectation of their being wanted again. It ought to be observed, because it will by-and-by be found to be of great importance, that these volunteers had been engaged to serve *one year out of two*, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless sooner discharged; that is to say, they engaged to be at the command of the Government for the space of two years from the time of the first rendezvous, unless they should before the end of the two years have performed *one year's service*. I beg the reader to bear this in mind, for he will, by-and-by, find it leading to perils such as no man but Jackson ever encountered; or, at any rate, such as no man but Jackson ever overcame.

There was at this time (May, 1813) no appearance that British hostility would bear against any part of Louisiana, in which New-Orleans is situated. But the repose of Jackson and his volunteers was not of long duration; for the savages, instigated by an impostor who went among them, calling himself a prophet, who gave them assurances of the aid and protection of Great Britain, whose power and riches he represented as without bounds; the savages thus instigated, made incursions into the States of Tennessee, Kentucky, and other parts, committing murders and cruelties; slaughtering women and children with the most savage barbarity. It was absolutely necessary to punish them: and, therefore, first the Government of Tennessee, and afterwards, the General Government authorized war, when all eyes were turned upon Jackson to put an end to these horrid cruelties. He therefore called upon his volunteers who had followed him

to Natchez in the spring of the year, and appointed the 4th of October (1813) for them to meet him, armed and equipped for active service.

When these multiplied outrages of the Indians in the West and South at length attracted the attention of the General Government, an application was made through their agent (Colonel Hawkins) to the principal chiefs of the nation, who, desirous of preserving their friendly relations with the United States, resolved to punish the murderers with death, and immediately appointed a party of warriors to carry their determination into execution. No sooner was this done than the spirit of the greater part of the nation, which from policy had been kept in a considerable degree dormant, suddenly burst to a flame, and kindled into a civil war.

It was not difficult for the friends of those who had been put to death to prevail on others, who secretly applauded the acts for which they suffered, to enter warmly into their resentments against those who had been concerned in bringing them to punishment. An occasion, as they believed, was now presented, which fully authorized them to throw aside all those injunctions of secrecy with regard to their hostile intentions, which had been imposed on them by Tecumseh and their prophets. This restraint, which hitherto they had regarded with much difficulty, they now resolved to lay aside, and to execute at once their insatiate and long-projected vengeance not only on the white people, but on those of their own nation who, by this last act of retaliatory justice, had unequivocally shown a disposition to preserve their friendship with the former. The cloak of concealment being now thrown aside, the war-clubs were immediately seen in every section of the nation, but more particularly among the numerous hordes residing near the Alabama. Brandishing these in their hands, they rushed in the first instance on those of their own countrymen who had shown a disposition to preserve their relations with the United States, and obliged them to retire towards the white settlements, and place themselves in forts, to escape the first ebullition of their rage. Encouraged by this success, and their numbers, which hourly increased, and infatuated to the highest degree by the predic-

tions of their prophets, who assured them that "the Great Spirit" was on their side, and would enable them to triumph over all their enemies, they began to make immediate preparations for extending their ravages to the white settlements. Fort Mimms, situated in the Tensaw settlement in the Mississippi territory, was the first point destined to satiate their cruelty and vengeance. It contained, at that time, about one hundred and fifty men, under the command of Major Beasley, besides a considerable number of women and children, who had betaken themselves to it for security. Having collected a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards at Pensacola, and assembled their warriors, to the number of six or seven hundred, the war party, commanded by Weatherford, a distinguished chief of the nation, on the 30th of August, 1813, commenced their assault on the fort, and having succeeded in carrying it, put to death nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, with the most savage barbarity. The slaughter was indiscriminate; mercy was extended to none; and the tomahawk, at the same stroke, often cleft the mother and the child. But seventeen of the whole number in the fort escaped to bring intelligence of the dreadful catastrophe. This monstrous and unprovoked outrage no sooner reached Tennessee than the whole State was thrown into a ferment, and nothing was thought or spoken of but retaliatory vengeance, Considerable excitement had already been produced by brutalities of earlier date, and measures had been adopted by the Governor, in conformity with instructions from the Secretary of War, for commencing a campaign against them; but the massacre at Fort Mimms, which threatened to be followed by the entire destruction of the Mobile and Tombigbee settlements, inspired a deep and universal sentiment of solicitude, and an earnest wish for speedy and effectual operations. The anxiety felt on the occasion was greatly increased from an apprehension that General Jackson would not be able to command. He was the only man known in the State who was believed qualified to discharge the arduous duties of the station, and who could carry with him the complete confidence of his soldiers. He was at this time seriously indisposed, and confined to his

room with a fractured arm; but, although this apprehension was seriously indulged, arrangements were in progress, and measures industriously taken, to prepare and press the expedition with every possible despatch.

A numerous collection of respectable citizens, who convened at Nashville on the 18th of September, 1813, for the purpose of devising the most effectual ways and means of affording protection to their brethren in distress, after conferring with the Governor and General Jackson, who was still confined to his room, strongly advised the propriety of marching a sufficient army into the heart of the Creek nation; and accordingly recommended this measure with great earnestness to the Legislature, which in a few days afterward commenced its session. That body, penetrated with the same sentiments which animated the whole country, immediately enacted a law, authorizing the Executive to call into the field thirty-five hundred of the militia, to be marched against the Indians; and to guard against all difficulties, in the event the General Government should omit to adopt them into their service, three hundred thousand dollars were voted for their support.

Additional reasons were at hand why active operations should be commenced with the least possible delay. The settlers were all fleeing to the interior, and every day brought intelligence that the Creeks, collected in considerable force, were bending their course towards the frontiers of Tennessee. The Governor now issued an order to General Jackson, who, notwithstanding the state of his health, had determined to assume the command, requiring him to call out, and rendezvous at Fayetteville in the shortest possible time, two thousand of the militia and volunteers of his division, to repel any invasion that might be contemplated. Colonel Coffee, in addition to five hundred cavalry already raised and under his command, was authorized and instructed to organize and receive into his regiment any mounted riflemen that might make a tender of their services.

Having received these orders, Jackson hastened to give them effect; and with this object, and with a view to greater expedition, appealed to those volunteers who, with him, had heretofore descended the Mississippi to Natchez. He urged

them to appear at the place designated for the rendezvous on the 4th of October, 1813, equipped and armed for active service. He pointed out the imperious necessity which demanded their services, and urged them to be punctual; for that their frontiers were threatened with invasion by a savage foe. "Already are large bodies of the hostile Creeks marching to your borders, with their scalping-knives unsheathed, to butcher your women and children: time is not to be lost. We must hasten to the frontier, or we shall find it drenched in the blood of our citizens. The health of your general is restored—he will command in person." In the mean time, until this force could be collected and organized, Colonel Coffee, with the force then under his command, and such additional mounted riflemen as could be attached at a short notice, was directed to hasten forward to the neighborhood of Huntsville, and occupy some eligible position for the defense of the frontier, until the infantry should arrive; when it was contemplated, by the nearest possible route, to press on to Fort St. Stephen, with a view to the protection and defense of Mississippi.

Every exertion was now made to hasten the preparations for a vigorous campaign. Orders were given to the quarter-master to furnish the necessary munitions, with the proper transportation; and to the contractors, to provide ample supplies of provisions. The day of their rendezvous being arrived, and the general not being sufficiently recovered to attend in person, he forwarded by his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, an address, to be read to the troops, accompanied by an order for the establishment of the police of the camp. In this address he pointed to the unprovoked injuries that had been so long inflicted by this horde of merciless and cruel savages, and entreated his soldiers to evince that zeal in the defense of their country which the importance of the moment so much required. "We are about to furnish these savages a lesson of admonition; we are about to teach them that our long forbearance has not proceeded from an insensibility to wrongs, or an inability to redress them. They stand in need of such warning. In proportion as we have borne with their insults and submitted to their outrages, they have multiplied

in number and increased in atrocity. But the measure of their offenses is at length filled. The blood of our women and children, recently spilt at Fort Mimms, calls for our vengeance; it must not call in vain. Our borders must no longer be disturbed by the war-whoop of these savages, and the cries of their suffering victims. The torch that has been lighted up must be made to blaze in the heart of their own country. It is time they should be made to feel the weight of a power which, because it was merciful, they believed to be impotent. But how shall a war so long forborne, and so loudly called for by retributive justice, be waged? Shall we imitate the example of our enemies in the disorder of their movements and the savageness of their dispositions? Is it worthy the character of American soldiers, who take up arms to redress the wrongs of an injured country, to assume no better models than that furnished them by barbarians? No, fellow-soldiers; great as are the grievances that have called us from our homes, we must not permit disorderly passions to tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us. We must and will be victorious; but we must conquer as men who owe nothing to chance, and who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity!

"We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to discipline and subordination. Without a strict observance of these, victory must ever be uncertain, and ought hardly to be exulted in, even when gained. To what but the entire disregard of order and subordination are we to ascribe the disasters which have attended our arms in the North during the present war? How glorious will it be to remove the blots which have tarnished the fair character bequeathed us by the fathers of our revolution! The bosom of your general is full of hope. He knows the ardor which animates you, and already exults in the triumph which your strict observance of discipline and good order will render certain."

For the police of his camp, he announced the following order:

"The chain of sentinels will be marked, and the sentries posted precisely at ten o'clock to-day.

"No sutler will be suffered to sell spirituous liquors to any soldier, without permission in writing from a commissioned officer, under the penalties prescribed by the rules and articles of war.

"No citizen will be permitted to pass the chain of sentinels after retreat-beat in the evening, until reveille in the morning. Drunkenness, the bane of all orderly encampments, is positively forbidden, both in officers and privates: officers, under the penalty of immediate arrest; and privates, of being placed under guard, there to remain until liberated by a court-martial.

"At reveille-beat, all officers and soldiers are to appear on parade, with their arms and accoutrements in proper order.

"On parade, silence, the duty of a soldier, is positively commanded.

"No officer or soldier is to sleep out of camp, but by permission obtained."

These rules, to those who had scarcely yet passed the line that separates the citizen from the soldier, and who had not yet laid aside the notions of self-sovereignty, had the appearance of too much rigor; but the general well knew that the expedition in which they were embarked involved much hazard, and that, although such lively feelings were manifested now, yet when hardships pressed, these might cease. He considered it much safer, therefore, to lay before them at once the rules of conduct to which they must conform; believing that it would be more difficult to drive licentiousness from his camp than to prevent its entrance.

Impatient to join his division, although his health was far from being restored, his arm only beginning to heal, the general in a few days afterward set out for the encampment, and reached it on the 7th of October, 1813. Finding on his arrival that the requisition was not complete, either in the number of men or the necessary equipments, measures were instantly taken to remedy the deficiency. Orders were directed to the several brigadiers in his division to hasten immediately their respective quotas, fully equipped for active operation.

Circumstances did not permit him to remain at this

place long enough to have the delinquencies complained of remedied, and the ranks of his army filled. Colonel Coffee had proceeded with his mounted volunteers to cover Huntsville, and give security to the frontiers, where alarm greatly prevailed. On the night of the 8th a letter was received from him, dated two days before, advising that two Indians, belonging to the peace party, had just arrived at the Tennessee river from Chinnaby's fort, on the Coosa, with information that the war party had despatched eight hundred or a thousand of their warriors to attack the frontiers of Georgia; and, with the remainder of their forces, were marching against Huntsville, or Fort Hampton. In consequence of this intelligence, exertions were made to hasten a movement. Late on the following night another express arrived, confirming the former statement, and representing the enemy, in great force, to be rapidly approaching the Tennessee. Orders were now given for preparing the line of march, and by nine o'clock the next day the whole division was in motion. They had not proceeded many miles, when they were met with intelligence that Colonel Gibson, who had been sent out by Coffee to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy, had been killed by their advance. A strong desire had been manifested to be led forward; that desire was now strengthened by the information just received; and it was with difficulty their emotions could be restrained. They accelerated their march, and before eight o'clock at night arrived at Huntsville, a distance of thirty-two miles. Learning here that the information was erroneous which had occasioned so hasty a movement, the general encamped his troops; having intended to march them that night to the Tennessee river, had it been confirmed. The next day the line of march was resumed. The influence of the late excitement was now visible in the lassitude which followed its removal. Proceeding slowly, they crossed the Tennessee at Ditto's landing, and united in the evening with Colonel Coffee's regiment, which had previously occupied a commanding bluff on the south bank of the river. From this place, a few days afterward, Jackson detached Colonel Coffee with seven hundred men to scour the Black Warrior, a stream running from the north-east, and

emptying into the Tombigbee; on which were supposed to be settled several populous villages of the enemy. He himself remained at this encampment a week, using the utmost pains in training his troops for service, and laboring incessantly to procure the necessary supplies for a campaign, which he had determined to carry directly into the heart of the enemy's country. Towards the latter object, his industry had been employed and his attention invariably directed, from the time the expedition was projected.

With General Cocke, who commanded the division of East Tennessee militia, an arrangement had been made the preceding month, in which he had engaged to furnish large quantities of bread-stuff at Ditto's landing. The facility of procuring it in that quarter, and the convenient transportation afforded by the river, left no doubt on the mind of Jackson but that the engagement would be punctually complied with. To provide, however, against the bare possibility of a failure, and to be guarded against all contingencies that might happen, he had addressed his applications to various other sources. He had, on the same subject, written in the most pressing manner to the Governor of Georgia, with whose forces it was proposed to act in concert; to Colonel Meigs, agent to the Cherokee nation of Indians; and to General White, who commanded the advance of the East Tennessee troops. Previously to his arival at Huntsville, he had received assurances from the two latter that a considerable supply of flour for the use of his army had been procured, and was then at Hiwassee, where boats were ready to transport it. From General Cocke himself, about the same time, a letter was received, stating that a hundred and fifty barrels of flour were then on the way to his encampment; and expressing a belief that he should be able to procure, and forward on immediately, a thousand barrels more. With pressing importunity he had addressed himself to the contractors, and they had given him assurances, that on his crosssing the Tennessee they would be prepared with twenty day's rations for his whole command; but finding, on his arrival at Ditto's, that their preparations were not in such forwardness as he had been led to expect, he was compelled for a time to suspend any active

and general operations. Calculating, however, with great confidence, on exertions which he had been promised should be unremitting, and on the speedy arrival of those supplies, descending the river, which had been already unaccountably delayed, he hoped in a few days to be placed in a situation to act efficiently. While he was encouraged by these expectations, and only waiting their fulfillment that he might advance, Shelocta, the son of Chinnaby, a principal chief among the friendly Creeks, arrived at his camp, to solicit his speedy movement for the relief of his father's fort, which was then threatened by a considerable body of the war party, who had advanced to the neighborhood of the Ten Islands, on the Coosa. Influenced by his representations, and anxious to extend relief, Jackson, on the 18th, gave orders for taking up the line of march on the following day, and notified the contractors of this arrangement, that they might be prepared to issue immediately such supplies as they had on hand; but to his great astonishment, he then, for the first time, was apprised of their entire inability to supply him while on his march. Having drawn what they had in their power to furnish, amounting to only a few day's rations, they were deposed from office, and others appointed, on whose industry and performance he believed he might more safely rely. The scarcity of his provisions, however, at a moment like the present, when there was every appearance that the enemy might be met, and a blow stricken to advantage, was not sufficient to wave his determination already taken. The route he would have to take to gain the fort, lay for a considerable distance up the river: might not the boats, long expected from Hiwassee, and which he felt strongly assured must be near at hand, be met with on the way? He determined to proceed; and having passed his army and baggage-wagons over several mountains of stupendous size, and such as were thought almost impassable by foot-passengers, he arrived on the 22d of October at Thompson's creek, which empties into the Tennessee, twenty-four miles above Ditto's. At this place he proposed the establishment of a permanent depot, for the reception of supplies, to be sent either up or down the river. Disappointed in the hopes with which he had ventured on his march, he remained here several

days, in expectation of the boats that were coming to his relief. Thus harrassed at the first onset by difficulties wholly unexpected, and which, from the numerous and strong assurances received, he could by no means have calculated on; fearing, too, that the same disregard of duty might induce a continuance, he lost no time in opening every avenue to expedient, that the chances of future failure might be diminished. To General Flournoy, who commanded at Mobile, he applied, urging him to procure bread-stuff, and have it forwarded up the Alabama by the time he should arrive on that river. The agent of the Choctaws, Colonel M'Kee, who was then on the Tombigbee, was addressed in the same style of entreaty. Expresses were despatched to General White, who, with the advance of the East Tennessee division, had arrived at the Look-out mountain, in the Cherokee nation, urging him by all means to hasten on the supplies. The assistance of the Governor of Tennessee was also earnestly besought. To facilitate exertion, and to assure success, every thing within his reach was attempted: several persons of wealth and patriotism in Madison county, were solicited to afford the contractors all the aid in their power; and to induce them more readily to extend it, their deep interest immediately at stake was pointed to, and their deplorable and dangerous situation, should necessity compel him to withdraw his army, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the savages.

While these measures were taking, two runners from Turkey-town, an Indian village, despatched by Path-killer, a chief of the Cherokees, arrived at the camp. They brought information that the enemy, from nine of the hostile towns, were assembling in great force near the Ten Islands; and solicited that immediate assistance should be afforded the friendly Creeks and Cherokees in their neighborhood, who were exposed to imminent danger. His want of provisions was not yet remedied; but distributing the partial supply that was on hand, he resolved to proceed, in expectation that the relief he had so earnestly looked for would in a little while arrive, and be forwarded to him. To prepare his troops for an engagement, which he foresaw was soon to take place, he thus addressed them:

"You have, fellow-soldiers, at length penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed that they will abandon the soil that imbosoms the bones of their forefathers, without furnishing you an opportunity of signalizing your valor. Wise men do not expect, brave men will not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested through a barren wilderness, that you quitted your families and homes, and submitted to so many privations; it was to avenge the cruelties committed upon our defenseless frontiers by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their no less inhuman allies. You shall not be disappointed. If the enemy flee before us, we will overtake and chastise him; we will teach him how dreadful, when once aroused, is the resentment of freemen. But it is not by boasting that punishment is to be inflicted, or victory obtained. The same resolution that prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us in battle. Men thus animated, and thus resolved, barbarians can never conquer; and it is an enemy barbarous in the extreme that we have now to face. Their reliance will be on the damage they can do you while you are asleep, and unprepared for action: their hopes shall fail them in the hour of experiment. Soldiers who know their duty, and are ambitious to perform it, are not to be taken by surprise. Our sentinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action; yet, while it is enjoined upon the sentinels vigilantly to watch the approach of the foe, they are at the same time commanded not to fire at shadows. Imaginary dangers must not deprive them of entire self-possession. Our soldiers will lie with their arms in their hands; and the moment an alarm is given, they will move to their respective positions without noise and without confusion. They will be thus enabled to hear the orders of their officers, and to obey them with promptitude.

"Great reliance will be placed by the enemy on the consternation they may be able to spread through our ranks, by the hideous yells with which they commence their battles; but brave men will laugh at such efforts to alarm them. It is not by bellowings and screams, that the wounds of death are inflicted. You will teach these noisy assailants how weak are their weapons of warfare, by opposing them with the bayonet.

What Indian ever withstood its charge? what army, of any nation, ever withstood it long?

"Yes, soldiers, the order for a charge will be the signal for victory. In that moment, your enemy will be seen fleeing in every direction before you. But in the moment of action, coolness and deliberation must be regarded; your fires made with precision and aim; and when ordered to charge with the bayonet, you must proceed to the assault with a quick and firm step, without trepidation or alarm. Then shall you behold the completion of your hopes, in the discomfiture of you enemy. Your general, whose duty, as well as inclination, is to watch over your safety, will not, to gratify any wishes of his own, urge you unnecessarily into danger. He knows, however, that it is not in assailing an enemy, that men are destroyed; it is when retreating, and in confusion. Aware of this, he will be prompted as much by a regard for your lives as your honor. He laments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to hint at a retreat, when speaking to freemen and to soldiers. Never, until you forget all that is due to yourselves and your country, will you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy wholly unacquainted with military evolutions, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages and hideous yells, than upon their bravery or their weapons; shall such an enemy ever drive before them the well-trained youths of our country, whose bosoms pant for glory, and a desire to avenge the wrongs they have received? Your general will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy, and submit himself to their scalping-knives: but he has no fears of such a result. He knows the valor of the men he commands; and now certainly that valor, regulated as it will be, will lead to victory. With his soldiers, he will face all dangers, and with them participate in the glory of conquest."

Having thus prepared the minds of his men, and brought to their view the kind of foe with whom they were shortly to contend; and having also, by his expresses, instructed General White to form a junction with him, and to hasten on all the supplies in his power to command, with about six day's rations of meat, and less than two of meal; he again put his army in

motion to meet the enemy. Although there was some hazard in advancing into a country where relief was not to be expected, with such limited preparation, yet believing that his contractors, lately installed, would exert themselves to the utmost to forward supplies, and that amid the variety of arrangements made, all could not fail; and well aware that his delaying longer might be productive of many disadvantages, his determination was taken to set out immediately in quest of the enemy. He replied to the Path-killer, by his runners, that he should proceed directly for the Coosa, and solicited him to be diligent in making discoveries of the situation and collected forces of the savages, and give him, as early as possible, the result of his inquiries.

"The hostile Creeks," he remarked to him, "will not attack you until they have had a brush with me; and that, I think, will put them out of the notion of fighting for some time."

He requested, if he had, or could any how procure, provisions for his army, that he would send them, or advise where they might be had: "You shall be well paid, and have my thanks into the bargain. I shall stand most in need of corn-meal, but shall be thankful for any kind of provisions, and indeed for whatever will support life."

The army had advanced but a short distance, when unexpected embarrassments were again presented. Information was received, by which it was clearly ascertained that the present contractors, who had been so much and so certainly relied on, could not, with all their exertions, procure the necessary supplies. Major Rose, in the quarter-master's department, who had been sent into Madison county to aid them in their endeavors, having satisfied himself, as well from their own admissions as from evidence derived from other sources, that their want of funds, and consequent want of credit, rendered them a very unsafe dependence, had returned and disclosed the facts to the general. He stated that there were there persons of fortune and industry, who might be confided in, and who would be willing to contract for the army if it were necessary. Jackson lost no time in embracing this plan, and gave the contract to Mr. Pope, in whose means and exertions he hoped every reliance might be safely reposed. To the other contractors he

wrote, informing them of the change that had been made, and the reasons which had induced it.

"I am advised," said he, "that you have candidly acknowledged you have it not in your power to execute the contract in which you have engaged. Do not think I mean to cast any reflection—very far from it. I am exceedingly pleased with the exertions you have made, and feel myself under many obligations of gratitude for them. The critical situation of affairs when you entered into the contract being considered, you have done all that individuals in your circumstances could have performed. But you must be well convinced, that any approbation which may be felt by the commander of an army for past services, ought not to become, through kindness to you, the occasion of that army's destruction. From the admissions you have been candid enough to make, the scarcity which already begins to appear in the camp, and the difficulties you are likely to encounter in effecting your engagements, I am apprehensive I should be doing injustice to the army I command, were I to rely for support on your exertions—great as I know them to be. Whatever concerns myself, I may manage with any generosity or indulgence I please; but in acting for my country, I have no such discretion. I have therefore felt myself compelled to give the contract in which you are concerned to another, who is abundantly able to execute it; on condition he indemnifies you for the trouble you have been at."

This arrangement being made, the army continued its march, and having arrived within a few miles of the Ten Islands, was met by old Chinnaby, a leading chief of the Creek nation, and sternly opposed to the war party. He brought with him, and surrendered up, two of the hostile Creeks, who had lately been made prisoners by his party. At this place it was represented that they were within sixteen miles of the enemy, who were collected to the number of a thousand, to oppose their passage. This information was little relied on, and afterwards proved untrue. Jackson continued his route, and in a few days reached the islands of the Coosa, having been detained a day on the way for the purpose of obtaining small supplies of corn from the neighboring Indians. This acquisition to the scanty stock on hand, while it afforded subsistance for the present,

encouraged his hopes for the future, as a means of temporary resort, should his other resources fail.

In a letter to Governor Blount from this place, speaking of the difficulties with which he was assailed, he observes; "indeed, sir, we have been very wretchedly supplied—scarcely two rations in succession have been regularly drawn; yet we are not despondent. While we can procure an ear of corn apiece, or any thing that will answer as a substitute for it, we shall continue our exertions to accomplish the object for which we were sent. The cheerfulness with which my men submit to privations, and are ready to encounter danger, does honor to them, and to the Government whose rights they are defending.

"Every means within my power for procuring the requisite supplies for my army, I have taken, and am continuing to take. East, west, north and south, have been applied to, with the most pressing solicitation. The Governor of Georgia, in a letter received from him this evening, informs me that a sufficiency can be had in his State; but does not signify that he is about to take any measures to procure it. My former contractor has been superseded: no exertions were spared by him to fulfill his engagements; yet the inconveniences under which he labored were such as to render his best exertions unavailing. The contract has been offered to one who will be able to execute it; if he accepts it, my apprehensions will be greatly diminished."

On the 28th of October, 1813, Colonel Dyer, who, on the march to the Ten Islands, had been detached from the main body with two hundred cavalry to attack Littafutchee-town, on the head of Canoe creek, which empties into the Coosa from the west, returned, bringing with him twenty-nine prisoners—men, women, and children—having destroyed the village.

The sanguine expectations indulged, on leaving Thompson's creek, that the advance of the East Tennessee militia would hasten to unite with him, was not yet realized. The express heretofore directed to General White, had not returned. Jackson, on the 31st of October, 1813, despatched another, again urging him to effect a speedy junction, and to bring with him all the bread-stuff it should be in his power to procure; feelingly suggesting to him, at the same time, the great inconvenience and hazard to which he had been already exposed, for

the want of punctuality in himself and his commanding general. Owing to that cause, and the late failures of his contractors, he represented his army as placed, at present, in a very precarious situation, and dependent in a great measure for support on the exertions which they might be pleased to make; but assured him at the same time, that, let circumstances transpire as they might, he would still, at every risk, endeavor to effect his purpose; and, at all events, was resolved to hasten with every practicable despatch to the accomplishment of the object for which he had set out. Believing the co-operation of the East Tennessee troops essential to this end, they were again instructed to join him without delay; for he could not conceive it to be correct policy, that troops from the same State, pursuing the same object, should constitute separate and distinct armies, and act without concert, and independently of each other. He entertained no doubt but that his order would be promptly obeyed.

The next evening a detachment, which had been sent out the day before, returned to the camp, bringing with them, besides some corn and beeves, several negroes and prisoners of the war party.

Learning now that a considerable body of the enemy had posted themselves at Tallushatchee, on the south side of the Coosa, about thirteen miles distant, General Coffee was detached with nine hundred men (the mounted troops having been previously organized into a brigade, and placed under his command) to attack and disperse them. With this force he was enabled, through the direction of an Indian pilot, to ford the Coosa at the Fish-dams, about four miles above the Islands; and, having encamped beyond it, very early the next morning proceeded to the execution of his order. Having arrived within a mile and a half, he formed his detachment into two divisions, and directed them to march so as to encircle the town, by uniting their fronts beyond it. The enemy, hearing of his approach, began to prepare for action, which was announced by the beating of drums, mingled with their savage yells and war-whoops. An hour after sunrise, the action was commenced by Captain Hammond's and Lieutenant Patterson's companies of spies, who had gone within the circle of align-

ment for the purpose of drawing the Indians from their buildings. No sooner had these companies exhibited their front in view of the town, and given a few scattering shots, than the enemy formed, and made a violent charge. Being compelled to give way, the advance-guard were pursued until they reached the main body of the army, which immediately opened a general fire, and charged in their turn. The Indians retreated, firing, until they got around and in their buildings, where an obstinate conflict ensued, and where those who maintained their ground persisted in fighting as long as they could stand or sit, without manifesting fear or soliciting quarter. Their loss was a hundred and eighty-six killed; among whom were, unfortunately, and through accident, a few women and children. Eighty-four women and children were taken prisoners, towards whom the utmost humanity was shown. Of the Americans, five were killed and forty-one wounded. Two were killed with arrows, which on this occasion formed a principal part of the arms of the Indians; each one having a bow and quiver, which he used after the first fire of his gun, until an opportunity occurred for reloading.

Having buried his dead and provided for his wounded, General Coffee, late in the evening of the same day, united with the main army, bringing with him about forty prisoners. Of the residue, a part were too badly wounded to be removed, and were therefore left, with a sufficient number to take care of them. Those which he brought in, received every comfort and assistance their situation demanded, and, for safety, were immediately sent into the settlements.

From the manner in which the enemy fought, the killing and wounding others than their warriors was not to be avoided. On their retreat to their village, after the commencement of the battle, they resorted to their block-houses and strong log-dwellings, whence they kept up resistance, and resolutely maintained the fight. Thus mingled with their women and children, it was impossible they should not be exposed to the general danger; and thus many were injured, notwithstanding every possible precaution was taken to prevent it. In fact, many of the women united with their warriors, and contended in the battle with fearless bravery.

Measures were now taken to establish a permanent depot on the north bank of the river, at the Ten Islands, to be protected by strong picketing and block-houses; after which, it was the intention of Jackson to proceed along the Coosa to its junction with the Tallapoosa, near which it was expected the main force of the enemy was collected. Well knowing that it would detach much of the strength of his army to occupy, in his advance, the different points necessary to the safety of his rear, it was desirable to unite, as soon as possible, with the troops from the east of Tennessee. To effect this, he again, on the 4th, despatched an express to General White, who had previously, with his command, arrived at Turkey-town, a Cherokee village about twenty-five miles above, on the same river, urging him to unite with him as soon as possible, and again entreating him on the subject of provisions; to bring with him such as he had on hand, or could procure; and, if possible, to form some certain arrangement that might ensure a supply in future.

Anxious to proceed, and to have his army actively and serviceably employed, which he believed would be practicable as soon as a junction could be effected, he again, on the morning of 7th of November, 1813, renewed his application to General White, who still remained at Turkey-town.

As yet, no certain intelligence was received of any collection of the enemy. The army was busily engaged in fortifying and strengthening the site fixed on for a depot, to which the name of Fort Strother had been given. Late, however, on the evening of the 7th November, a runner arrived from Talladega, a fort of the friendly Indians, distant about thirty miles below, with information that the enemy had that morning encamped before it in great numbers, and would certainly destroy it unless immediate assistance could be afforded. Jackson, confiding in the statement, determined to lose no time in extending the relief which was solicited. Understanding that General White, agreeably to his order, was on his way to join him, he despatched a messenger to meet him, directing him to reach his encampment in the course of the ensuing night, and to protect it in his absence. He now gave orders for taking up the line of march, with twelve hundred

infantry, and eight hundred cavalry and mounted gun men; leaving behind the sick, the wounded, and all his baggage, with a force which was deemed sufficient for their protection, until the reinforcement from Turkey-town should arrive.

The friendly Indians, who had taken refuge in this beseiged fort, had involved themselves in their present perilous situation from a disposition to preserve their amicable relations with the United States. To suffer them to fall a sacrifice from any tardiness of movement, would have been unpardonable; and unless relief should be immediately extended, it might arrive too late. Acting under these impressions, the general concluded to move instantly forward to their assistance. By twelve o'clock at night, every thing was in readiness; and in an hour afterward the army commenced crossing the river, about a mile above the camp, each of the mounted men carrying one of the infantry behind him. The river at this place was six hundred yards wide, and it being necessary to send back the horses for the remainder of the infantry, several hours were consumed before a passage of all the troops could be effected. Nevertheless, though greatly fatigued and deprived of sleep, they continued the march with animation, and by evening had arrived within six miles of the enemy. In this march, Jackson used the utmost precaution to prevent surprise: marching his army, as was his constant custom, in three columns, so that, by a speedy maneuver, they might be thrown into such a situation as to be capable of resisting an attack from any quarter. Having judiciously encamped his men on an eligible piece of ground, he sent forward two of the friendly Indians and a white man, who had for many years been detained a captive in the nation, and was now acting as interpreter, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. About eleven o'clock at night they returned, with information that the savages were posted within a quarter of a mile of the fort, and appeared to be in great force; but that they had not been able to approach near enough to ascertain either their numbers or precise situation. Within an hour after this a runner arrived from Turkey-town, with a letter from General White, stating that after having taken up the line of march, to unite at Fort Strother, he had received orders from

General Cocke to change his course, and proceed to the mouth of Chatauga creek. It was most distressing intelligence: the sick and wounded had been left with no other calculation for their safety and defense than that this detachment of the army, agreeably to his request, would, by advancing upon Fort Strother, serve the double purpose of protecting his rear and enable him to advance still further into the enemy's country. The information which was now received proved that all those salutary anticipations were at an end, and that evils of the worst kind might be the consequence. Intelligence so disagreeable, and withal so unexpected, filled the mind of Jackson with apprehension of a serious and alarming character; and dreading lest the enemy, by taking a different route, should attack his encampment in his absence, he determined to lose no time in bringing him to battle. Orders were accordingly given to the adjutant-general to prepare the line, and by four o'clock in the morning the army was again in motion. The infantry proceeded in three columns; the cavalry in the same order, in the rear, with flankers on each wing. The advance, consisting of a company of artillerists with muskets, two companies of riflemen, and one of spies, marched about four hundred yards in front, under the command of Colonel Carroll, inspector-general, with orders, after commencing the action, to fall back on the centre, so as to draw the enemy after them. At seven o'clock, having arrived within a mile of the position they occupied, the columns were displayed in order of battle. Two hundred and fifty of the cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Dyer, were placed in the rear of the centre, as a corps-de-reserve. The remainder of the mounted troops were directed to advance on the right and left, and, after encircling the enemy, by uniting the fronts of their columns, and keeping their rear rested on the infantry, to face and press towards the centre, so as to leave them no possibility of escape. The remaining part of the army was ordered to move up by heads of companies; General Hall's brigade occupying the right, and General Roberts' the left.

About eight o'clock, the advance, having arrived within eighty yards of the enemy, who were concealed in a thick shrubbery that covered the margin of a small rivulet, received a heavy

fire, which they instantly returned with much spirit. Falling in with the enemy, agreeably to their instructions, they retired towards the centre, but not before they had dislodged them from their position. The Indians, now screaming and yelling hideously, rushed forward in the direction of General Roberts' brigade, a few companies of which, alarmed by their numbers and yells, gave way at the first fire. Jackson, to fill the chasm which was thus created, directed the regiment commanded by Colonel Bradley to be moved up, which, from some unaccountable cause, had failed to advance in a line with the others, and now occupied a position in rear of the centre. Bradley, however, to whom this order was given by one of the staff, omitted to execute it in time, alleging he was determined to remain on the eminence which he then possessed, until he should be approached and attacked by the enemy. Owing to this failure in the volunteer regiment, it became necessary to dismount the reserve, which, with great firmness, met the approach of the enemy, who were rapidly moving in this direction. The retreating militia, somewhat mortified at seeing their places so promptly supplied, rallied, and recovering their former position, in the line, aided in checking the advance of the savages. The action now became general along the line, and in fifteen minutes the Indians were seen flying in every direction. On the left they were met and repulsed by the mounted riflemen; but on the right, owing to the halt of Bradley's regiment, which was intended to occupy the extreme right, and to the circumstance of Colonel Allcorn, who commanded one of the wings of the cavalry, having taken too large a circuit, a considerable space was left between the infantry and the cavalry, through which numbers escaped. The fight was maintained with great spirit and effect on both sides, as well before as after the retreat commenced; nor did the pursuit and slaughter terminate until the mountains were reached, at the distance of three miles.

Jackson, in his report of this action, bestows high commendation on the officers and soldiers. "Too much praise," he observes in the close of it, "cannot be bestowed on the advance led by Colonel Carroll, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack; nor upon the reserve, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dyer, for the gallantry with

which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word, officers of every grade, as well as privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country."

In this battle, the force of the enemy was one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground; and it is believed that many were killed in the flight, who were not found when the estimate was made. Probably few escaped unhurt. Their loss on this occasion, as stated since by themselves, was not less than six hundred: that of the Americans was fifteen killed, and eighty wounded, several of whom afterward died. Jackson, after collecting his dead and wounded, advanced his army beyond the fort, and encamped for the night. The Indians who had been for several days shut up by the besiegers, thus fortunately liberated from the most dreadful apprehensions and severest privations, having for some days been entirely without water, received the army with all the demonstrations of gratitude that savages could give. Their manifestations of joy for their deliverance, presented an interesting and affecting spectacle. Their fears had been already greatly excited, for it was the very day when they were to have been assaulted, and when every soul within the fort must have perished. All the provisions they could spare from their scanty stock they sold to the general, who, purchasing with his own money, distributed them among the soldiers, who were almost destitute.

It was with great regret that Jackson now found he was without the means of availing himself fully of the advantages of his victory; but the condition of his posts in the rear, and the want of provisions, (having left his encampment at Fort Strother with little more than one day's rations), compelled him to return; thus giving the enemy time to recover from the consternation of their first defeat, and to re-assemble their forces.

The cause which prevented General White from acting in obedience to his order, and arriving at the Ten Islands at a moment when it was so important, and when it was so confidently expected, was as yet unknown; the only certainty upon the subject was, that for the present it wholly thwarted his views, and laid him under the necessity of returning.

This mystery, hitherto inexplicable, was some time after explained, by a view of the order of General Cocke, under which White, being a brigadier in his division, chose to act, rather than under Jackson's. General Cocke stated to him, he had understood Jackson had crossed the Coosa, and had an engagement with the Indians. "I have formed a council of officers here, and proposed these questions: Shall we follow him? or cross the river, and proceed to the Creek settlements on the Tallapoosa? Both were decided unanimously, that he should not be followed, but that we should proceed in the way proposed." He remarked, that the decision had met his entire approbation; and directed White forthwith to unite with him at his encampment, where he should wait, fortifying it strongly for a depot until he should arrive. "If," said he, "we follow General Jackson and his army, we must suffer for supplies; nor can we expect to gain a victory. Let us then take a direction in which we can share some of the dangers and glories of the field. You will employ pilots, and advise me which side of the river you will move up." In this, as in every other measure, it seemed to be the studied aim of Cocke to thwart the views and arrest the successes of Jackson; and perhaps jealousy, in no inconsiderable degree, was the moving spring to his conduct. Both were major-generals from the state of Tennessee, sent on the same important errand, to check an insolent foe, who had practised the most cruel and unprovoked outrages. Which of them should share the "dangers and glories of the field," or obtain its laurels, was not so important to the country, as by acting in concert and harmony, endeavoring to accomplish the grand object of terminating the war, and restoring tranquility to the frontiers. National, and not individual advancement, was the object in carrying an army into the field; and the best and most effectual means of securing this, every officer, acting on liberal principles, should have constantly held in view: the interest and repose of the country, not their individual advancement, was the end to be attained.

Having buried his dead with all due honor, and provided litters for the wounded, he reluctantly commenced his return march on the morning succeeding the battle. He confidently

hoped, from the previous assurances of the contractors, that by the time of his return to Fort Strother, sufficient supplies would have arrived there; but, to his unexpressible uneasiness, he found that not a particle had been forwarded there since his departure, and that what had been left was already consumed. Even his private stores, brought on at his own expense, and upon which he and his staff had hitherto wholly subsisted, had been in his absence distributed among the sick by the hospital surgeon, who had been previously instructed to do so if their wants should require it. A few dozen biscuits, which remained on his return, were given to hungry applicants, without being tasted by himself or family, who were probably not less hungry than those who were thus relieved. A scanty supply of indifferent beef, taken from the enemy or purchased of the Cherokees, was now the only support afforded. Thus left destitute, Jackson, with the utmost cheerfulness of temper, repaired to the bullock pen, and of the offal there thrown away, provided for himself and staff what he was pleased to call, and seemed really to think, a very comfortable repast. Tripes, however, hastily provided in a camp, without bread or seasoning, can only be palatable to an appetite very highly whetted. Yet this constituted for several days the only diet at head quarters, during which time the general seemed entirely satisfied with his fare. Neither this nor the liberal donations by which he disfurnished himself to relieve the suffering soldier, deserves to be ascribed to ostentation or design: the one flowed from benevolence, the other from necessity, and a desire to place before his men an example of patience and suffering, which he felt might be necessary, and hoped might be serviceable. Of these two imputations no human being, invested with rank and power, was ever more deservedly free. Charity in him is a warm and active propensity of the heart, urging him, by an instantaneous impulse, to relieve the wants of the distressed, without regarding, or even thinking of the consequences. Many of those to whom it was extended had no conception of the source that supplied them, and believed the comforts they received were, indeed, drawn from stores provided for the hospital department.

But while General Jackson remained wholly unmoved by his own privations, he was filled with solicitude and concern for his army. His utmost exertions, unceasingly applied, were insufficient to remove the sufferings to which he saw them exposed; and although they were by no means so great as were represented, yet were they undoubtedly such as to be sensibly and severely felt. Discontents, and a desire to return home, arose, and presently spread through the camp; and these were still further imbittered and augmented by the arts of a few designing officers, who, believing that the campaign would break up, hoped to make themselves popular on the return, by encouraging and taking part in the complaints of the soldiery. It is a singular fact, that those officers who pretended on this occasion to feel most sensibly for the wants of the army, and who contrived most effectually to instigate it to revolt, had never themselves been without provisions; and were, at that very moment, enjoying in abundance what would have relieved the distresses of many, had it been as generously and freely distributed as were their words of advice and condolence.

During this period of scarcity and discontent, small quantities of supplies were occasionally forwarded by the contractors, but not a sufficiency for present want, and still less to remove the apprehensions that were entertained for the future. At length, revolt began to show itself openly. The officers and soldiers of the militia, collecting in their tents and talking over their grievances, determined to yield up their patriotism and to abandon the camp. To this measure there were good evidences for believing that several of the officers of the old volunteer corps exerted themselves clandestinely, and with great industry, to instigate them; looking upon themselves somewhat in the light of veterans, from the discipline they had acquired in the expedition to the lower country, they were unwilling to be seen foremost in setting an example of mutiny, and wished to make the defection of others a pretext for their own.

Jackson, apprized of their determination to abandon him, resolved to oppose it, and at all hazard to prevent a departure. In the morning, when they were to carry their intentions into

execution, he drew up the volunteers in front of them, with positive commands to prevent their progress, and compel them to return to their former position in the camp. The militia, seeing this, and fearing the consequences of persisting in their purpose, at once abandoned it, and returned to their quarters without further murmuring, extolling, in the highest terms, the unalterable firmness of the general.

The next day, however, presented a singular scene. The volunteers, who the day before had been the instruments for compelling the militia to return to their duty, seeing the destruction of those hopes on which they had lately built in turn began themselves to mutiny. Their opposition to the departure of the militia was but a mere pretence to escape suspicion, for they silently wished them success. They now determined to move off in a body, believing, from the known disaffection in the camp, that the general could find no means to prevent it. What was their surprise, however, when, on attempting to effectuate their resolves, they found the same men whom they had so lately opposed, occupying the very position which they had done the day previous for a similar purpose, and manifesting a fixed determination to obey the orders of their general! All they ventured to do was to take the example through; and, like them, move back in peace and quietness to their quarters.

This was a curious change of circumstances, when we consider in how short a time it happened; but the conduct of the militia, on this occasion, must be ascribed to the ingenuity and management of the general, and in the gratification they felt in being able to defeat the views of those who had so lately thwarted their own. To this may be also added the consciousness all must have entertained, that the privations of which they complained were far less grievous than they had represented them; by no means sufficient to justify revolt, and not greater than patriots might be expected to bear without a murmur, when objects of such high consideration were before them. But, anxious to return to their families and kindred, wearied of their difficulties and sufferings, and desirous to recount the brilliant exploits of their first battle, they seized with eagerness every pretext for exoneration, and listened with too

much docility to the representations of those who were influenced by less honorable feelings. Having many domestic considerations to attend to,—the first ebullition of resentment being cooled, and the first impulse of curiosity gratified, there were no motives to retain them in the field, but a remaining sense of honor, and a fear of disgrace and punishment, should they abandon their post without a cause. But although these motives were sufficient for the present, those who were governed by them did not cease to wish that a more plausible apology might offer for dispensing with their operation. The militia continued to show a much more obedient and patriotic disposition than the volunteers; who, having adopted a course which they discovered must finally involve them in dishonor, if it should fail, were exceedingly anxious for its success, and that it might have the appearance of being founded on justice. On this subject the pretensions of the cavalry were certainly much better established; as they were entirely without forage, and without the prospect of speedily obtaining any. They petitioned, therefore, to be permitted to return into the settled parts of the country, pledging themselves, by their platoon and field officers, that if sufficient time were allowed to recruit the exhausted state of their horses, and to procure their winter clothing, they would return to the performance of their duty whenever called on. The general, unable from many causes to prosecute the campaign, and confiding in the assurance given, granted the prayer of their petition, and they immediately set out on their return.

About this time, General Jackson's prospect of being able to maintain the conquests he had made, began to be cheered by letters just received from the contractors and principal wagon-master, stating that sufficient supplies for the army were then on the road, and would shortly arrive; but discontents, to an alarming degree, still prevailed in his camp. To allay them, if possible, he hastened to lay before the division the information and letters he had received; and, at the same time, invited the field and platoon officers to his quarters, to consult on the measures proper to be pursued. Having assembled them, and well knowing that the flame of discontent, which had so lately shown itself, was only for the present

smothered, and might yet burst forth in serious injury, he addressed them in an animated speech, in which he extolled their patriotism and achievements; lamented the privations to which they had been exposed, and endeavored to reanimate them by the prospect of speedy relief, which he expected with confidence on the following day. He spoke of the immense importance of the conquests they had already made, and of the dreadful consequences that must result, should they be now abandoned. "What," continued he, "is the present situation of our camp? A number of our fellow-soldiers are wounded, and unable to help themselves. Shall it be said that we are so lost to humanity as to leave them in this condition? Can any one, under these circumstances, and under these prospects, consent to an abandonment of the camp?—of all that we have acquired in the midst of so many difficulties, privations, and dangers—of what it will cost us so much to regain—of what we never can regain,—our brave wounded companions, who will be murdered by our unthinking, unfeeling inhumanity? Surely, there can be none such! No: we will take with us, when we go, our wounded and sick. They must not—shall not perish by our cold-blooded indifference. But why should you despond? I do not, and yet your wants are not greater than mine. To be sure we do not live sumptuously: but no one has died of hunger, or is likely to die; and then how animating are our prospects! Large supplies are at Deposit, and already are officers despatched to hasten them on. Wagons are on the way; a large number of beeves are in the neighborhood; and detachments are out to bring them in. All these resources surely cannot fail. I have no wish to starve you—none to deceive you. Stay contentedly; and if supplies do not arrive within two days, we will all march back together, and throw the blame of our failure where it should properly lie: until then we certainly have the means of subsisting; and if we are compelled to bear privations, let us remember that they are borne for our country, and are not greater than many —perhaps most armies have been compelled to endure. I have called you together to tell you my feelings and my wishes; this evening think on them seriously, and let me know yours in the morning."

Having retired to their tents, and deliberated on the measures most proper to be adopted in this emergency, the officers of the volunteer brigade came to the conclusion that "nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements, could prevent those difficulties and that disgrace which must attend a forcible desertion of the camp by his soldiers." The officers of the militia determined differently, and reported a willingness to maintain the post a few days longer, that it might be ascertained whether or not, a sufficiency of provisions could really be had. "If it can, let us proceed with the campaign; if not, let us be marched back to where it can be procured." The General, who greatly preferred the latter opinion, nevertheless, to allay excitement, was disposed to gratify those who appeared unwilling to submit to further hardships; and with this view ordered General Hall to march his brigade to Fort Deposit; and, after satisfying their wants, to return, and act as an escort to the provisions. The second regiment, however, unwilling to be outdone by the militia, consented to remain; and the first proceeded alone. On this occasion he could not forbear to remark, that men for whom he had ever cherished so warm an affection, and for whom he would at all times have made any sacrifice, desiring to abandon him at a moment when their presence was so particularly necessary, filled him with emotions which the strongest language was too feeble to express. "I was prepared," he continued, "to endure every evil but disgrace; and this, as I never can submit to myself, I can give no encouragement to in others."

Two days had elapsed since the departure of the volunteers, and supplies had not arrived. The militia, with great earnestness, now demanded a performance of the pledge that had been given—that they should be marched back to the settlements. Jackson, on giving them an assurance that they should return, if relief did not reach them in two days, had indulged a confidence that it would certainly arrive by that time; and now, from the information he had received, felt more than ever certain, that it could not be far distant. Having, however, pledged himself, he could use no arguments or entreaties to detain them any longer, and immediately took

measures for complying with their wishes and the promise he had made them. This was to him a moment of the deepest dejection. He foresaw how difficult it would be ever to accomplish the object upon which his heart was so devoutly fixed, should he lose the men who were now with him; or even to regain the conquests he had made, if his present posts should fall into the hands of the enemy. While thus pondering on the gloomy prospect, he lifted up his hands and exclaimed, with a look and manner which showed how much he felt, "If only two men will remain with me, I will never abandon this post." Captain Gordon, of the spies, facetiously replied, "You have one, general, let us look if we can't find another;" and immediately, with a zeal suited to the occasion, undertook, with some of the general staff, to raise volunteers; and in a little while succeeded in procuring one hundred and nine, who declared a determination to remain and protect the post. The general, greatly rejoiced that he would not be compelled to an entire abandonment of his position, now set out towards Deposit with the remainder of the army, who were given distinctly to understand, that on meeting supplies, they were to return and prosecute the campaign. This was an event which, as it had been expected and foretold, soon took place. They had not proceeded more than ten or twelve miles, when they met a hundred and fifty beeves; but a sight which gave to Jackson so much satisfaction, was to them the most disagreeable and unwelcome. Their faces being now turned towards home, no spectacle could be more hateful than one which was to change their destination. They were halted; and having satisfied their hungry appetites, the troops, with the exception of such as were necessary to proceed with the sick and wounded, were ordered to return to the encampment—he himself intending to see the contractors, and establish more effectual arrangements for the future. So great was their aversion to returning, that they preferred a violation of their duty and their pledged honor. Low murmurings ran along the lines, and presently broke out into open mutiny. In spite of the order they had received, they began to revolt, and one company was already moving off in a direction towards home. They had proceeded some distance before information

of their departure was had by Jackson. Irritated at their conduct, in attempting to violate the promise they had given, and knowing that the success of future operations depended on the result, the general pursued, until he came near a part of his staff and a few soldiers, who, with General Coffee, had halted about a quarter of a mile ahead. He ordered them to form immediately across the road, and to fire on the mutineers if they attempted to proceed. Snatching up their arms, these faithful adherents presented a front which threw the deserters into affright, and caused them to retreat precipitately to the main body. Here it was hoped the matter would end, and that no further opposition would be made to returning.

This expectation was not realized; a mutinous temper began presently to display itself throughout the whole brigade. Jackson, having left his aid-de-camp, Major Reid, engaged in making up some despatches, had gone out alone among his troops, who were at some distance: on his arrival, he found a much more extensive mutiny than that which had just been quelled. Almost the whole brigade had put itself into an attitude for moving forcibly off. A crisis had arrived; and, feeling its importance, he determined to take no middle ground, but to triumph or perish. He was still without the use of his left arm, but, seizing a musket, and resting it on the neck of his horse, he threw himself in front of the column, and threatened to shoot the first man who should attempt to advance. In this situation he was found by Major Reid and General Coffee; who, fearing, from the length of his absence, that some disturbance had arisen, hastened where he was, and, placing themselves by his side, awaited the result in anxious expectation.

For many minutes the column preserved a sullen, yet hesitating attitude, fearing to proceed in their purpose, and disliking to abandon it. In the mean time, those who remained faithful to their duty, amounting to about two companies, were collected and formed at a short distance in advance of the troops and in rear of the general, with positive directions to imitate his example in firing, if they attempted to proceed. At length, finding no one bold enough to advance, and overtaken by those fears which in the hour of peril always beset

persons engaged in what they know to be a bad cause, they abandoned their purpose, and turning quietly round, agreed to return to their posts. It is very certain, that but for the firmness of the general at this critical moment, the campaign would have been broken up, and most probably not commenced again.

Shortly after the battle of Talladega, the Hillabee tribes, who had been the principal sufferers on that occasion, applied to General Jackson for peace; declaring their willingness to receive it on such terms as he might be pleased to dictate. His decision had been already returned, stating to them that his government had taken up arms to bring to a proper sense of duty a people to whom she had ever shown the utmost kindness, but who, nevertheless, had committed against her citizens the most unprovoked depredations; and that she would lay them down only when certain that this object was attained. "Upon those," continued he, "who are friendly, I neither wish nor intend to make war; but they must afford evidences of the sincerity of their professions; the prisoners and property they have taken from us and the friendly Creeks, must be restored; the instigators of the war, and the murderers of our citizens, must be surrendered; the latter must and will be made to feel the force of our resentment. Long shall they remember Fort Mimms, in bitterness and tears."

Having stated to General Cocke, whose division was acting in this section of the nation, the propositions that had been made by the Hillabee tribes, with the answer he returned, and urged him to detach to Fort Strother six hundred of his men to aid in the defense of that place during his absence, and in the operations he intended to resume on his return, he proceeded to Deposit and Ditto's Landing, where the most effectual means in his power were taken with the contractors for obtaining regular supplies in future. They were required to furnish immediately thirty days' rations at Fort Strother, forty at Talladega, and as many at the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; two hundred packhorses and forty wagons were put in requisition to facilitate their transportation. Understanding now that the whole detachment from Tennessee had, by the President, been received into the service of the United

States, he persuaded himself that the difficulties he had heretofore encountered would not recur, and that the want of supplies would not again be a cause of impeding his operations. He now looked forward, with sanguine expectations, to the speedy accomplishment of the objects of the expedition.

The volunteers who were at Deposit, began to manifest the same unwillingness to return to their duty that the militia had done, and were about to break out into the same spirit of mutiny and revolt; but were restrained by an animated address of the general, who, having assembled them together, painted in the most glowing colors all the consequences that were to be apprehended, if, from any defalcation of theirs, the campaign should be abandoned, or ineffectually prosecuted. By this means, he succeeded once more in restoring quietness to his troops.

He now set out on his return to Fort Strother, and was delighted to find, by the progress of the works, the industry that had been used in his absence. But the satisfaction he felt, and the hopes he began to cherish, were of short continuance. Although he had succeeded in stilling the tumult of the volunteers, and in prevailing on them to return to their posts, it was soon discovered he had not eradicated their deep-rooted aversion to a further prosecution of the war. Nothing is more difficult than to reanimate men who have once lost their spirits, or inspire with new ardor those in whom it has lately become extinct. Even where the evils which produced the change are removed, apologies will be sought, and pretexts seized, for justifying and preserving the present tone of mind. The volunteers, who had so lately clamored about bread, now, when they were no longer hungry, began to clamor with equal earnestness about their term of service. Having lately made an effort to forsake the drudgery of the field, and failed, they were disposed to avail themselves of any pretexts, seemingly plausible, to obtain success. They insisted that the period for which they had undertaken to act, would end on the 10th of December—that being the termination of a year from the day they had first entered into service; and although they had been a great part of the time disengaged, and unemployed, that recess

was nevertheless to be taken into the computation. Jackson replied, that the law of Congress under which they had been tendered and accepted, requiring one year's service out of two, could contemplate nothing less than an actual service of three hundred and sixty-five days; and, until that were performed, he could not, unless specially authorized, undertake to discharge them. But as this was a question not likely to be settled by argument, and as the consequences were easily to be foreseen if they should persist in their demands, the general began to think of providing other means for a continuance of the campaign, that, even in the worst extreme, he might not be unprepared to act. Ordering General Roberts to return and fill up the deficiencies in his brigade, he now despatched Colonel Carroll, and Major Searcy, one of his aids-de-camp, into Tennessee, to raise volunteers for six months, or during the campaign: writing at the same time to many respectable characters, he exhorted them to contribute all their assistance to the accomplishment of this object. To a letter just received from the Reverend Gideon Blackburn, assuring him that volunteers from Tennessee would eagerly hasten to his relief, if they knew their services were wanted, he replied:

"Reverend Sir—Your letter has been just received: I thank you for it; I thank you most sincerely. It arrived at a moment when my spirits needed such a support. I left Tennessee with an army, brave, I believe, as any general ever commanded. I have seen them in battle, and my opinion of their bravery is not changed. But their fortitude—on this too I relied—has been too severely tested. Perhaps I was wrong in believing that nothing but death could conquer the spirits of brave men. I am sure I was; for my men I know are brave, yet privations have rendered them discontented—that is enough. The expedition must nevertheless be prosecuted to a successful termination. New volunteers must be raised to conclude, what has been so auspiciously begun by the old ones. Gladly would I save these men from themselves, and insure them a harvest which they have sown; but if they will abandon it to others, it must be so.

"You are good enough to say, if I need your assistance, it will be cheerfully afforded. I do greatly need it. The influ-

ence you possess over the minds of men is great and well-founded, and can never be better applied than in summoning volunteers to the defense of their country, their liberty, and their religion. While we fight the savage, who makes war only because he delights in blood, and who has gotten his booty when he has scalped his victim; we are, through him, contending against an enemy of more inveterate character, and deeper design—who would demolish a fabric cemented by the blood of our fathers, and endeared to us by all the happiness we enjoy. So far as my exertions can contribute, the purposes both of the savage and his instigator shall be defeated; and so far as yours can, I hope—I know they will be employed. I have said enough.—I want men, and want them immediately."

Anxious to prosecute the campaign as soon as possible, that by employing his troops actively he might dispel from their minds those discontents so frequently manifested, he wrote to General Cocke, desiring and urging him to unite with him immediately at the Ten Islands, with fifteen hundred men. He assured him that the mounted men, who had returned to the settlements for subsistence, and to recruit their horses, would arrive by the 12th of the month. He wished to commence his operations directly, "knowing they would be prepared for it, and well knowing they would require it. I am astonished," he continued, "to hear that your supplies continue deficient. In the name of God, what are the contractors doing, and about what are they engaged? Every letter I receive from Governor Blount, assures me I am to receive plentiful supplies from them, and seems to take for granted, notwithstanding all I have said to the contrary, that they have been hitherto regularly furnished. Considering the generous loan the State has made for this purpose, and the facility of procuring bread-stuffs in East Tennessee, and the transporting them by water to Fort Deposit, it is to me wholly unaccountable that not a pound has ever arrived at that place. This evil must continue no longer—it must be remedied. I expect, therefore, and through you must require, that in twenty days they furnish at Deposit every necessary supply."

While these measures were taking, the volunteers, through

several of their officers, were pressing on the consideration of the general the expiration of their service, and claiming to be discharged on the 10th of the month. From the colonel who commanded the second regiment, he received a letter, dated the 4th of December, 1813, in which was attempted to be detailed their whole ground of complaint. He began by stating, that painful as it was, he nevertheless felt himself bound to disclose an important and unpleasant truth: that, on the 10th, the service would be deprived of the regiment he commanded. He seemed to deplore, with great sensibility, the scene that would be exhibited on that day, should opposition be made to their departure; and still more sensibly the consequences that would result from a disorderly abandonment of the camp. He stated they had all considered themselves finally discharged on the 20th of April, 1813, and never knew to the contrary until they saw his order of the 24th of September, 1813, requiring them to rendezvous at Fayetteville on the 4th of October, 1813; for the first time, they then learned that they owed further services, their discharge to the contrary notwithstanding. "Thus situated, there was considerable opposition to the order; on which the officers generally, as I am advised, and I know myself in particular, gave it as an unequivocal opinion, that their term of servics would terminate on the 10th of December, 1813.

"They therefore look to their general, who has their confidence, for an honorable discharge on that day; and that, in every respect, he will see that justice be done them. They regret that their particular situations and circumstances require them to leave their general at a time when their services are important to the common cause. It would be desirable," he continued, "that those men who have served with honor, should be honorably discharged, and that they should return to their families and friends without even the semblance of disgrace; with their general they leave it to place them in that situation. They have received him as an affectionate father, while they have honored, revered, and obeyed him; but, having devoted a considerable portion of their time to the service of their country, by which their domestic concerns are greatly deranged, they wish to return, and attend to their own affairs."

Although this communication announced the determination of only a part of the volunteer brigade, he had already abundant evidence that the defection was but too general. The difficulties which the general had heretofore been compelled to encounter, from the discontent of his troops, might well induce him to regret that a spirit of insubordination should again threaten to appear in his camp. That he might, if possible, prevent it, he hastened to lay before them the error and impropriety of their views, and the consequences involved, should they persist in their purpose.

"I know not," he observed, "what scenes will be exhibited on the 10th instant, nor what consequences are to flow from them here or elsewhere; but as I shall have the consciousness that they are not imputable to any misconduct of mine, I trust I shall have the firmness not to shrink from a discharge of my duty. It will be well, however, for those who intend to become actors in those scenes, and who are about to hazard so much on the correctness of their opinions, to examine beforehand, with great caution and deliberation, the grounds on which their pretensions rest. Are they founded on any false assurances of mine, or upon any deception that has been practised towards them? Was not the act of congress under which they are engaged directed, by my general order, to be read, and expounded to them, before they enrolled themselves? That order will testify, and so will the recollection of every general officer of my division. It is not pretended, that those who now claim to be discharged were not legally and fairly enrolled under the act of congress of the 6th of February, 1812. Have they performed the service required of them by that act, and which they then solemnly undertook to perform? That required one year's service out of two, to be computed from the day of rendezvous, unless they should be sooner discharged. Has one year's service been performed? This cannot be seriously pretended. Have they then been discharged? It is said they have, and by me. To account for so extraordinary a belief, it may be necessary to take a review of past circumstances.

"More than twelve months have elapsed since we were called upon to avenge the injured rights of our country. We

obeyed the call. In the midst of hardships, which none but those to whom liberty is dear could have borne without a murmur, we descended the Mississippi. It was believed our services were wanted in the prosecution of the just war in which our country was engaged, and we were prepared to render them. But though we were disappointed in our expectations, we established for Tennessee a name which will long do her honor. At length, we received a letter from the secretary of war directing our dismission. You well recollect the circumstances of wretchedness in which this order was calculated to place us. By it we were deprived of every article of public property; no provision was made for the payment of our troops, or their subsistence on their return march; while many of our sick, unable to help themselves, must have perished. Against the opinion of many, I marched them back to their homes before I dismissed them. Your regiment, at its own request, was dismissed at Columbia. This was accompanied with a certificate to each man, expressing the acts under which he had been enrolled, and the length of the tour he had performed. This it is, which is now attempted to be construed 'a final discharge;' but surely it cannot be forgotten by any officer or soldier, how sacredly they pledged themselves, before they were dismissed or received that certificate, cheerfully to obey the voice of their country, if it should re-summon them into service; neither can it be forgotten, I dare hope, for what purpose that certificate was given; it was to secure, if possible, to those brave men who had shown such readiness to serve their country, certain extra emoluments, specified in the seventh section of the act under which they engaged, in the event they were not recalled into service for the residue of their term.

"Is it true, then, that my solicitude for the interest of the volunteers is to be made by them a pretext for disgracing a name which they have rendered illustrious? Is a certificate, designed solely for their benefit, to become the rallying word for mutiny?—strange perversion of feeling and of reasoning! Have I really any power to discharge men whose term of service has not expired! If I were weak or wicked enough to attempt the exercise of such a power, does any one believe the soldier would be thereby exonerated from the obligation

he has voluntarily taken upon himself to his government? I should become a traitor to the important concern which has been intrusted to my management, while the soldier, who had been deceived by a false hope of liberation, would be still liable to redeem his pledge; I should disgrace myself, without benefitting you.

"I can only deplore the situation of those officers who have undertaken to persuade their men that their term of service will expire on the 10th. In giving their opinions to this effect, they have acted indiscreetly, and without sufficient authority. It would be the most pleasing act of my life to restore them with honor to their families. Nothing would pain me more than that any other sentiments should be felt towards them than those of gratitude and esteem. On all occasions, it has been my highest happiness to promote their interest, and even to gratify their wishes, where, with propriety, it could be done. When in the lower country, believing that, in order for their dismissal, they had been improperly treated, I even solicited the government to discharge them, finally, from the obligations into which they had entered. You know the answer of the Secretary of War—that neither he nor the President, as he believed, had the power to discharge them. How, then, can it be required of me to do so?

"The moment it is signified to me by any competent authority, even by the governor of Tennessee, to whom I have written on the subject, or by General Pinckney, who is now appointed to the command, that the volunteers may be exonerated from further service, that moment I will pronounce it with the greatest satisfaction. I have only the power of pronouncing a discharge—not of giving it in any case; a distinction which I would wish should be borne in mind. Already have I sent to raise volunteers, on my responsibility, to complete a campaign which has been so happily begun, and thus far, so fortunately prosecuted. The moment they arrive, and I am assured that, fired by our exploits, they will hasten in crowds on the first intimation that we need their services, they will be substituted in the place of those who are discontented here; the latter will then be permitted to return to their homes, with all the honor which, under such circumstances, they can car-

ry along with them. But I still cherish the hope, that their dissatisfaction and complaints have been greatly exaggerated. I cannot, must not believe, that 'the volunteers of Tennessee,' a name ever dear to fame, will disgrace themselves, and a country which they have honored, by abandoning her standard, as mutineers and deserters; but should I be disappointed, and compelled to resign this pleasing hope, one thing I will not resign—my duty. Mutiny and sedition, so long as I possess the power of quelling them, shall be put down; and even when left destitute of this, I will still be found, in the last extremity, endeavoring to discharge the duty I owe my country and myself."

To the platoon officers, who addressed him on the same subject, he replied with nearly the same spirited feeling; but discontent was too deeply fastened, and by designing men, had been too artfully fomented, to be removed by any thing like argument or entreaty. At length, on the evening of the 9th of December, 1813, General Hall hastened to the tent of Jackson, with information that his whole brigade was in a state of mutiny, and making preparations to move forcibly off. This was a measure which every consideration of policy, duty, and honor, required Jackson to oppose; and to this purpose he instantly applied all the means he possessed. He immediately issued the following general order: "The commanding general being informed that an actual mutiny exists in his camp, all officers and soldiers are commanded to put it down. The officers and soldiers of the first brigade will, without delay, parade on the west side of the fort, and await further orders." The artillery company, with two small field-pieces, being posted in the front and rear, and the militia, under the command of Colonel Wynne, on the eminences, in advance, were ordered to prevent any forcible departure of the volunteers.

The general rode along the line, which had been previously formed agreeably to his orders, and addressed them, by companies, in a strain of impassioned eloquence. He feelingly expatiated on their former good conduct, and the esteem and applause it had secured them; and pointed to the disgrace

which they must heap upon themselves, their families, and country, by persisting, even if they could succeed, in their present mutiny. He told them, however, they should not succeed but by passing over his body; that even in opposing their mutinous spirit, he should perish honorably—by perishing at his post, and in the discharge of his duty. "Reinforcements," he continued, "are preparing to hasten to my assistance; it cannot be long before they will arrive. I am, too, in daily expectation of receiving information, whether you may be discharged or not—until then you must not, and shall not, retire. I have done with entreaty,—it has been used long enough. I will attempt it no more. You must now determine whether you will go, or peaceably remain; if you still persist in your determination to move forcibly off, the point between us shall soon be decided." At first they hesitated; he demanded an explicit and positive answer. They still hesitated, and he commanded the artillerist to prepare the match; he himself remaining in front of the volunteers, and within the line of fire, which he intended soon to order. Alarmed at his apparent determination, and dreading the consequences involved in such a contest, "Let us return," was presently lisped along the line, and soon after determined upon. The officers now came forward and pledged themselves for their men, who either nodded assent, or openly expressed a willingness to retire to their quarters, and remain without further tumult, until information were had, or the expected aid should arrive. Thus passed away a moment of the greatest peril, and pregnant with important consequences.

This matchless and ever memorable scene, the reader will observe, took place on the 10th of December, 1813; the volunteers having formed their first rendezvous, as he will recollect, on the 10th of December, 1812. *One year* had certainly expired; but there had not been a year's *service;* for they had not been in service from the 1st of May to the 10th of October, 1813; so that there remained five months of the year's service to come. The general was right in his construction of the bargain; but, besides this, to have forsaken the campaign in such a manner, would have been ruinous in the extreme;

the savage enemy, not yet subdued, but exasperated to the last degree, would have assailed the unprotected frontiers, and have drenched it in the blood of the defenseless citizens.

This difficulty got over, was by no means the last which he had to encounter: discontents were continually rising up in his army; the governor of Tennessee recommended him to abandon his enterprise; he had to reject this advice with scorn. One general retired with his brigade; opposition after opposition he met with from different officers, yet he proceeded on to assault the blood thirsty enemy, in spite of every impediment, though he had to imprison officers, to hang a militia soldier, and to do things which it appears almost to require credulity unbounded to believe to be true. Finally, however, he succeeded: he subdued the savage tribes; he reduced them to sue for pardon and for peace; he concluded a treaty with them; took them out of the hands of the more crafty and more powerful enemy of America; and cleared the way for a battle, single-handed, with the British, on the Gulf of Mexico, and finally at New-Orleans.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM APRIL, 1814, TO DECEMBER, 1814.

Perfidious conduct of the Spanish Governor of Pensacola—Jackson's remonstrance—Nicholls's proclamation—Defeat of the British at Fort Bowyer, by Major Lawrence—Reduction of Pensacola, and retreat of the British—Jackson's arrival at New-Orleans—Preparations made by the British for the reduction of New-Orleans.

He was now (spring of 1814) appointed to be a major-general in the service of the United States. The protection of the coast near the mouths of the Mississippi was intrusted to him; and his first attention was turned to the comfort, the encouragement, the protection which the savages received from the Spanish governor, and Spanish authorities in the fortress of Pensacola, which is situated on the Gulf of Mexico, at about a hundred miles distance from New-Orleans, about thirty miles from the frontiers of the State of Alabama, and about a hundred miles from the main fastness of the Creek Indians. His opinion was, that the savages were always receiving assistance from the Spanish garrison, and from the British, through the means of that garrison; and he was persuaded that, finally, the British would assail New-Orleans by means of preparations made at Pensacola. On his way to the south, he learned that about three hundred British troops had landed, and were fortifying themselves at no great distance from Pensacola. In this state of things, he endeavored to prevail upon the Spanish governor to desist from all acts injurious to the United States. The Spanish governor shuffled at first, and afterward boldly lied. By this time, and in fact before, the news had been received of the fall of Napoleon, and of his banishment to Elba. This event inspired new villany, and new courage, every where. This Spanish garrison was, in

fact, a rendezvous for the British: it was a rendezvous for the savage enemies of the United States. Captain Gordon, sent by Jackson to see what was passing, in the month of August, (1814,) reported to the general, that he had seen from fifty to two hundred officers and soldiers, a park of artillery, about five hundred savages under the drill of British officers, and dressed in the English uniform. He wrote to the government, and remonstrated with it upon the subject of its timidity in permitting this. The Secretary of War, that same Armstrong that we have mentioned before, in the 2d chapter, coincided with him in opinion upon this point, and, indeed, authorized him to attack Pensacola; but, though this letter bore date of the 18th of July, 1814, *it was never received by Jackson until the 17th of January*, 1815; that is to say, nine days after the British army had been partly slaughtered, and partly driven into the sea, before New-Orleans! From the date of this letter, the city of Washington was left totally deprived of all defense. It is impossible to believe that there was not treason here; at the very least it was a contrivance to have in reserve the grounds of throwing the blame of failure upon Jackson.

Mobile, at that time, was but a fort belonging to the Americans, at the head of a little bay in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the territory of Alabama. To Mobile he repaired. There he learned that the approach of a great British force might be expected; and that the final object, was the capture of the city of New-Orleans. At this time (August, 1814) Colonel Nicholls, of the British army, arrived at Pensacola, whence he issued a proclamation to the southern and western inhabitants of the United States; and from that garrison he issued his proclamation, every word of which ought to be remembered for ages by the people of England, as well as the people of America.

PROCLAMATION OF COLONEL NICHOLLS TO THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INHABITANTS.

Natives of Louisiana! on you the first call is made, to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British,

whether settled or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you, also, I call, to aid me in this just cause. The American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed, inhabitants of the country, at our approach; the same good faith and disinterestedness which have distinguished the conduct of Britons in Europe accompany them here; you will have no fear of litigious taxes imposed on you for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquility of your country, will be guarantied to you by men who will suffer no infringement of theirs; rest assured that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satifaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans; to join you in liberating these southern provinces from their yoke, and drive them into those limits formerly proscribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves in the most solemn manner not to injure, in the slightest degree, the persons or property of any but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection; nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshhold thereof, under penalty of death from his own countrymen; not even an enemy will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men, by their good conduct and treatment to them, will (if it be possible) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct, lately, on the Escambia, and within a neutral territory.

Inhabitants of Kentucky, you have too long borne with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons: be imposed on no longer; but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing them, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi guarantied to you. Men of

Kentucky, let me call to your view, (and I trust to your abhorrence,) the conduct of those factions which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve in defense of her own and the liberties of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure in endeavoring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost in her last gasp—when Britons alone showed an undaunted front—basely did those assassins endeavor to stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, renovated from the bloody but successful struggle—Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens justly to avenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust; leave that contemptible few to shift for themselves; let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American, spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you longer support those brawlers for liberty who call it freedom when themselves are free? Be no longer their dupes—accept of my offers —every thing I have promised in this paper I guaranty to you on the sacred honor of a British officer.

Given under my hand, at my head-quarters, Pensacola, this 29th day of August, 1814.

EDWARD NICHOLLS.

The reader will laugh at this "sacred honor of a British officer," who says, that he is "coming at the head of a *large body of* savages," and who tells them that he will "free them from *litigious taxes.*" However, here was this man of "sacred honor," telling us that his "*head quarters*" are at Pensacola, though the scoundrel Spaniard pleaded his neutrality.

The first act of hostility here, on the part of the British, was on a fort called Fort Bowyer, on the Mobile. On the 15th of September, 1814, Nicholls and Woodbine approached by land, while several vessels approached by sea, mounting altogether ninety guns. This expedition ended in the blowing up of one of the English ships, greatly damaging another,

and sending off the proclamation-maker with the loss of one of his ships, and, as was said, one of his eyes. Major Lawrence commanded in the American fort. His brave band consisted of only one hundred and thirty men; while the force of the British was, as we have seen, ninety guns by sea, while Nicholls and Woodbine assaulted the fort by land, with a twelve-pound howitzer, and several hundreds of marines, sailors, and savages. This was an affair singularly honorable to Major Lawrence and his men. The disparity of force was incredible; and this disgraceful beating at the outset must have had a considerable effect upon the enemy. Jackson was, however, resolved to break up the rendezvous of Pensacola; and on the 6th of November, 1814, he marched against it, demolished all its defenses and protections, drove out the British and the savages, and taught Nicholls and the Spanish Governor that, though Buonaparte was banished to Elba, there was still one country left which was not to be insulted with impunity by the satellites of despotism.

Having given the haughty and insolent foe a foretaste of that which was to come, he repaired to that which was to be the grand scene of action. He arrived at the city of New-Orleans on the 1st of December, 1814. News had been received of the approach of a British fleet. The first intelligence of this sort was received on the 4th of December. Cochrane, who commanded the British fleet, and who had the celebrated Sir George Cockburn under him, had collected all their forces together, after they had been beaten off from before Baltimore, and had sailed off for New-Orleans, whither Nicholls had been sent before, to prepare the way for the proclamation, which we have just seen, issued from his head-quarters at Pensacola. They were to be joined, as they afterward were, by a strong body of the "heroes of the Peninsula." Their force altogether was prodigious: ships of the line, frigates, sloops of war, fire-ships, great numbers of furnaces to heat shot, Congreve rockets, all manner of materials for sapping, and mining, and blowing up: an expedition costing, in all probability, more than a million of pounds sterling in the fitting out. There were eleven thousand regular "heroes of the Peninsula;" there were four generals, two admirals, at the least;

twelve thousand, at the least, of seamen and marines, with artillery in abundance, of all sorts; perhaps a hundred gun-boats and barges; and every expense ready to be incurred for the employment of persons of all sorts; besides numerous bands of savages ready to come in, if the attack had succeeded. Here after all, there was nothing equal to the perils of the Indian campaign; but there was quite enough to daunt any man, except him, who finally faced it all.

CHAPTER V.

FROM DECEMBER 1, 1814, TO MARCH, 1815.

Defense of New-Orleans—Jackson is beset with traitors and spies—Arms not sent to him—Enemy lands on the 23d December—He marches in the night and drives them back—Divers smaller engagements—The traitors in the assembly and in the town conspire against him—Defeats the British with great slaughter, 8th January—Drives them out of the country—His farewell address to his army—The account given by the British Government of this important transaction.

We have seen that Jackson, having received intelligence which made him believe, and quite certain, indeed, that the intention of the British was to get possession of the mouths of the Mississippi, of the whole State of Louisiana, and particularly of that rich prize, the city of New-Orleans, filled with sugar, coffee, flour, cotton, and all sorts of merchandize, repaired thither, that is to say, to the city itself, on the 1st of December, 1814. On the 6th of December, he received certain intelligence that a large British force was off the port of Pensacola, destined to act against New-Orleans; that it amounted to about eighty vessels, and that more than double that number were momentarily looked for, to form a junction with those already arrived; that there were in this fleet vessels of all descriptions, contrived for the most deadly purposes, with a large body of land troops; that Admiral Cochrane had the command, and that his ship, the Tonnant, was then (4th December) lying off Pensacola.

The hour now arrived, then, in which was to be tried the naked courage of undisciplined Americans against the best soldiers that Great Britain was able to produce, with every advantage on their side. Without stopping to relate the pre-

liminary movements, and all the preparations for attack made by the British, I come at once to the beginning of the fighting, which took place on the 23d of December, when, in the evening, the British made a landing, and when Jackson resolved, at all events, to march and give them battle. I must stop here, however, to remark on something much more interesting than the mere fighting: it is not mere fighting that will depict to us the true character of a general and a statesman. Here Jackson had to contend against difficulties and dangers of every description. The comparatively small number, and the want of discipline, of his troops, I do not reckon among his difficulties; but treason, in every quarter and corner of the city and the state which he had to defend; spies continually communicating with the enemy; base and cowardly French and Spanish merchants, and paper-money makers, all puffed up with exultation at the triumph of the despots of Europe and the banishment of Napoleon to Elba, (events which had just taken place,) and all full of the hope and expectation that Jackson and his army would be cut in pieces (it being to be observed, that the State of Louisiana had been purchased from the French by the Americans no longer before than in the year 1811;) traitor editors endeavoring to sow discontent in his army, and when he imprisoned the author, a traitor judge found to order his release on a habeas corpus, whereupon he imprisoned him; but, above all things, a want of arms, owing to the scandalous neglect of officers of the federal government, which made it perilous for him to suffer communication between even his own lines, it being absolutely necessary for him to keep from the enemy a knowledge of his unarmed and destitute situation. These things, much more than the force of the enemy, and all their immense means of attack, rendered his situation perilous. Driven to the extremity of proclaiming martial law, and of enforcing it with the utmost severity; there was he, with his handful of faithful men, who had come down to him, unarmed and unprovided, a distance of five hundred miles; with faithful generals and brother-officers, to be sure: but with a people to defend who were ready to stab him in the back, while a powerful invading army was coming at him in front; and even with a legislative assembly

proposing to capitulate with the enemy, and to surrender themselves, their city, and their state, to the mercy of that enemy.

It was with all these difficulties and dangers staring him in the face, that he boldly proceeded on to the deliverance of his country; and we are now going to enter on the most interesting details of his proceedings in effecting this deliverance.

On the 23d of December, as has been before related, the enemy made a landing; and Jackson, wishing to gain time to complete his lines, and also thinking it of importance to give the enemy a taste of the difficulties which he would have to overcome, determined to proceed to attack the enemy in the night of the 23d of December. Generals Coffee and Carroll were ordered to proceed immediately from their encampment, and join him with all haste. Although four miles above, they arrived in the city in less than two hours after the order had been issued. These forces, with the seventh and forty-fourth regiments, the Louisiana troops, and Colonel Hinds' dragoons, from Mississippi, constituted the strength of his army, which could be carried into action against an enemy, whose numbers, at this time, could only be conjectured. It was thought advisable that General Carroll and his division should be disposed in the rear, for the reason that there was no correct information of the force landed through Villery's canal, and because Jackson feared that this probably might be merely a feint intended to divert his attention, while a much stronger and more numerous division, having already gained some point higher on the lake, might, by advancing in his absence, gain his rear, and succeed in their designs. Uncertain of their movements, it was essential he should be prepared for the worst, and by different dispositions of his troops be ready to resist, in whatever quarter he might be assailed. Carroll, therefore, at the head of his division, and Governor Claiborne, with the state militia, were directed to take post on the Gentilly road, which leads from Chef Menteur to New-Orleans, and to defend it to the last extremity.

Alarm pervaded the city. The marching and countermarching of the troops, the proximity of the enemy, with the approaching contest, and uncertainty of the issue, had excited a

general fear. Already might the British be on their way and at hand, before the necessary arrangements could be made to oppose them. To prevent this Colonel Hayne, with two companies of riflemen, and the Mississippi dragoons, was sent forward to reconnoitre their camp, learn their position and their numbers, and if they should be found advancing, to harass and oppose them at every step until the main body should arrive.

Every thing being ready, General Jackson commenced his march, to meet and fight the veteran troops of England. An inconsiderable circumstance at this moment evinced what unlimited confidence was reposed in his skill and bravery. As his troops were marching through the city, his ears were assailed with the screams and cries of innumerable females, who had collected on the way, and seemed to apprehend the worst of consequences. Feeling for their distresses, and anxious to quiet them, he directed Mr. Livingston, one of his aids-de-camp, to address them in the French language. "Say to them," said he, "not to be alarmed: the enemy shall never reach the city." It operated like an electric shock. To know that he himself was not apprehensive of a fatal result, inspired them with altered feelings; sorrow was ended, and their grief converted into hope and confidence.

The general arrived in view of the enemy a little before dark. Having previously ascertained from Colonel Hayne, who had been sent in advance, their position, and that their strength was about two thousand men,* he immediately concerted the mode of attack, and hastened to execute it. Commodore Patterson, who commanded the naval forces on this station, with Captain Henly, on board the Caroline, had been directed to drop down, anchor in front of their line, and open upon them from the guns of the schooner; this being the appointed signal, when given, the attack was to be waged simultaneously on all sides. The fires from their camp disclosed

*This opinion, as it afterward appeared, was incorrect. The number of the British, at the commencement of the action, was three thousand, and was shortly afterward increased by additional forces; Jackson's strength did not exceed two thousand.

their position, and showed their encampment, formed with their left resting on the river, and extending at right angles into the open field. General Coffee, with his brigade, Colonel Hinds' dragoons, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen, was ordered to oblique to the left, and, by a circuitous route, avoid their pickets, and endeavor to turn their right wing; having succeeded in this, to form his line, and press the enemy towards the river, where they would be exposed more completely to the fire of the Caroline. The rest of the troops, consisting of the regulars, Ploache's city volunteers, Daquin's colored troops, the artillery under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by a company of marines commanded by Colonel M'Kee, advanced on the road along the bank of the Mississippi, and were commanded by Jackson in person.

General Coffee with silence and caution had advanced beyond their pickets, next the swamp, and nearly reached the point to which he was ordered, when a broadside from the Caroline announced the battle begun. Patterson had proceeded slowly, giving time, as he believed, for the execution of those arrangements contemplated on the shore. So sanguine had the British been in the belief that they would be kindly received, and little opposition attempted, that the Caroline floated by the sentinels, and anchored before their camp without any kind of molestation. On passing the front picket, she was hailed in a low tone of voice, but not returning an answer, no further question was made. This, added to some other attendant circumstances, confirmed the opinion that they believed her a vessel laden with provisions, which had been sent out from New Orleans, and was intended for them. Having reached what, from their fires, appeared to be the centre of their encampment, her anchors were cast, and her character and business disclosed from her guns. So unexpected an attack produced a momentary confusion; but recovering, she was answered by a discharge of musketry and flight of Congreve rockets, which passed without injury, while the grape and cannister from her guns were pouring destructively on them. To take away the certainty of aim afforded by the light from their fires, these were immediately extinguished,

and they retired two or three hundred yards into the open field, if not out of the reach of the cannon, at least to a distance where, by the darkness of the night, they would be protected.

Coffee had dismounted his men, and turned his horses loose, at a large ditch, next the swamp, in the rear of Larond's plantation, and gained, as he believed, the centre of the enemy's line, when the signal from the Caroline reached him. He directly wheeled his columns in, and extending his line parallel with the river, moved towards their camp. He had advanced scarcely more than a hundred yards, when he received a heavy fire, from a line formed in his front; this, to him, was an unexpected circumstance, as he supposed the enemy lying principally at a distance, and that the only opposition he should meet, until he approached towards the levee,* would be from their advanced pickets. The circumstance of his coming in contact with them so soon, was owing to the severe attack of the schooner, which had compelled the enemy to abandon their camp, and form without the reach of her guns. The moon shone, but reflected her light too feebly to discover objects at a distance. The only means, therefore, of producing certain effect, with the kind of force engaged, which consisted chiefly of riflemen, was not to venture at random, but to discharge their pieces only when there should be a certainty of felling the object. This order being given, the line pressed on, and having gained a position near enough to distinguish, a general fire was given; it was well directed, and too severe and destructive to be withstood; the enemy gave way and retreated—rallied—formed—were charged, and again retreated. The gallant yeomanry, led by their brave commander, urged fearlessly on, and drove their invaders from every position they attempted to maintain. Their general was under no necessity to encourage and allure them to deeds of valor: his

*Banks thrown up on the margin of the river to confine the stream to its bed; and which are extended along the Mississippi, on both sides, from the termination of the highlands, near Baton Rouge. Frequently the river in its vernal floods rises above the elevation of the plains, and then the security of the country depends on the strength of those levees; they not unfrequently break, when incalculable injury is the consequence.

own example was sufficient to excite them. Always in the midst, he displayed a coolness and disregard of danger, calling to his troops that they had often said they could fight, and that now was the time to prove it.

The British, driven back by the resolute firmness and ardor of the assailants, had now reached a grove of orange trees, with a ditch running past it, protected by a fence on the margin. Here they were halted and formed for battle. It was a favorable position, promising security, and was occupied with a confidence they could not be forced to yield it. Coffee's dauntless yeomanry, strengthened in their hopes of success, moved on, nor discovered the advantages against them, until a fire from the entire British line showed their position and defense. A sudden check was given; but it was only momentary, for gathering fresh ardor, they charged across the ditch, gave a deadly and destructive fire, and forced them to retire. The retreat continued, until gaining a similar position, the British made another stand, and were again driven from it with considerable loss.

Thus the battle raged on the left wing, until the British reached the bank of the river; here a determined stand was made, and further encroachments resisted: for half an hour the conflict was extremely violent on both sides. The American troops could not be driven from their purpose, nor the British made to yield their ground; but at length, having suffered greatly, the latter were under the necessity of taking refuge behind the levee, which afforded a breast-work, and protected them from the fatal fire of our riflemen. Coffee, unacquainted with their position, for the darkness had greatly increased, already contemplated again to charge them; but one of his officers, who had discovered the advantage their situation gave them, assured him it was too hazardous; that they could be driven no farther, and would, from the point they occupied, resist with the bayonet, and repel, with considerable loss, any attempt that might be made to dislodge them. The place of their retirement was covered in front by a strong bank, which had been extended into the field, to keep out the river, in consequence of the first being encroached upon, and undermined in several places: the former, however, was still

entire in many parts, which, interposing between them and the Mississippi, afforded security from the broadsides of the schooner, which lay off at some distance. A further apprehension, lest, by moving still nearer to the river, he might greatly expose himself to the fire of the Caroline, which was yet spiritedly maintaining the conflict, induced Coffee to retire until he could hear from the commanding general, and receive his further orders.

During this time the right wing, under Jackson, had been no less prompt and active. A detachment of artillery, under Lieutenant Spotts, supported by sixty marines, and constituting the advance, had moved down the road next the levee. On their left was the seventh regiment of infantry, led by Major Piere. The forty-fourth, commanded by Major Baker, was formed on the extreme left; while Plauche's and Daquin's battalions of city guards were directed to be posted in the centre, between the seventh and forty-fourth. The general had ordered Colonel Ross (who during the night acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, for he was without a brigadier,) on hearing the signal from the Caroline, to move off by heads of companies, and, on reaching the enemy's line, to deploy, and unite the left wing of his command with the right of General Coffee's. This order was omitted to be executed; and the consequence was an early introduction of confusion in he ranks, which prevented the important design of uniting the two divisions.

Instead of moving in column from the first position, the troops, with the exception of the seventh regiment, next the person of the general, which advanced agreeably to the instructions that had been given, were formed and marched in extended line. Having sufficient ground to form on at first, no inconvenience was at the moment sustained; but this advantage presently failing, the centre became compressed, and was forced in the rear. The river, from where they were formed, gradually inclined to the left, and diminished the space originally possessed. Farther in, stood Larond's house, surrounded by a grove of clustered orange-trees: this pressing the left, and the river the right wing to the centre, formed a curve, which presently threw the principal part of Plauche's

and Daquin's battalions without the line. This inconvenience might have been remedied, but for the briskness of the advance, and the darkness of the night. A heavy fire from behind a fence, immediately before them, had brought the enemy to view. Acting in obedience to their orders, not to waste their ammunition at random, our troops had pressed forward against the opposition in their front, and thereby threw those battalions in the rear.

A fog rising from the river, and which, added to the smoke from the guns, was covering the plain, gradually diminished the little light shed by the moon, and greatly increased the darkness of the night: no clue was left to ascertain how or where the enemy were situated. There was no alternative but to move on in the direction of their fire, which subjected the assailants to material disadvantages. The British, driven from their first position, had retired, and occupied another, behind a deep ditch that run out of the Mississippi towards the swamp, on the margin of which was a wood-railed fence. Here, strengthened by increased numbers, they again opposed the advance of our troops. Having waited until they had approached sufficiently near to be discovered, from their fastnesses they discharged a fire upon the advancing army. Instantly our battery was formed, and poured destructively upon them; while the infantry, pressing forward, aided in the conflict, which at this point was for some time spiritedly maintained. At this moment a brisk sally was made upon our advance, when the marines, unequal to the assault, were already giving way. The adjutant-general, and Colonels Platt and Chotard, with a part of the seventh, hastening to their support, drove the enemy, and saved the artillery from capture. General Jackson, perceiving the decided advantages which were derived from the position they occupied, ordered their line to be charged, It was obeyed with cheerfulness, and executed with promptness. Pressing on, our troops gained the ditch, and pouring across it a well-aimed fire, compelled them to retreat, and to abandon their intrenchment. The plain on which they were contending was cut to pieces by races from the river, to convey the water to the swamp. The enemy were therefore very soon enabled to occupy another

position, equally favorable with the one whence they had been just driven, where they formed for battle, and for some time gallantly maintained themselves; but which at length, and after stubborn resistance, they were forced to yield.

The enemy, discovering the firm and obstinate advance made by the right wing of the American army, and presuming perhaps that its principal strength was posted on the road, formed the intention of attacking violently the left. Obliquing for this purpose, an attempt was made to turn it. At this moment, Daquin's and the battalion of city guards, being marched up and formed on the left of the forty-fourth regiment, met and repulsed them.

The particular moment of the contest prevented many of those benefits which might have been derived from the artillery. The darkness of the night was such, that the blaze of the enemy's musketry was the only light afforded by which to determine their position, or be capable of taking our own to advantage; yet, notwithstanding, it greatly annoyed them, whenever it could be brought to bear. Directed by Lieutenant Spotts, a vigilant and skillful officer, with men to aid him who looked to nothing but a zealous discharge of their duty, the most essential and important services were rendered.

The enemy had been thrice assailed and beaten, and for nearly a mile compelled to yield their ground. They had now retired, and, if found, were to be sought for amid the darkness of the night. The general determined to halt, and ascertain Coffee's position and success, previously to waging the battle further; for as yet no communication had passed between them. He entertained no doubt, from the brisk firing in that direction, that he had been warmly engaged; but this had now nearly subsided: the Caroline, too, had almost ceased her operations; it being only occasionally that the noise of her guns disclosed the little opportunity she possessed of acting efficiently.

The express despatched to General Jackson from the left wing having reached him, he determined to prosecute the successes he had gained no further. The darkness of the night, the confusion into which his own division had been thrown, and a similar disaster produced on the part of Coffee,

all pointed to the necessity of retiring from the field, and abandoning the contest. The bravery and firmness already displayed by his troops, had induced with him a belief that by pressing forward he might capture the whole British army: at any rate, he considered it but a game of venture and hazard, which, if unsuccessful, could not occasion his own defeat. If incompetent to its execution, and superior numbers or superior discipline should compel him to recede from the effort, he well knew the enemy would not have temerity enough to attempt pursuit. The extreme darkness, their entire ignorance of the situation of the country, and an apprehension lest their forces might be greatly outnumbered, afforded sufficient reasons on which to ground a belief that, although beaten from his purpose, he would yet have it in his power to retire in safety; but on arrival of the express from General Coffee, learning the strong position to which the enemy had retired, and that a part of the left wing had been detached, and were in all probability captured, he determined to retire from the contest, nor attempt a further prosecution of his successes. General Coffee was accordingly directed to withdraw, and take a position at Larond's plantation, where the line had been first formed; and thither the troops on the right were also ordered to be marched.

The last charge made by the left wing had separated from the main body Colonels Dyer and Gibson, with two hundred men, and Captain Beal's company of riflemen. What might be their fate, whether they were captured or had effected their retreat, was, at this time, altogether uncertain; be that as it might, Coffee's command was thereby considerably weakened.

Colonel Dyer, who commanded the extreme left, on clearing the grove, after the enemy had retired, was marching in a direction where he expected to find General Coffee; he very soon discovered a force in front, and halting his men, hastened towards it; arriving within a short distance, he was hailed, ordered to stop, and report to whom he belonged: Dyer, and Gibson, his lieutenant-colonel, who had accompanied him, advanced and stated they were of Coffee's brigade; by this time they had arrived within a short distance of the line, and perceiving that the name of the brigade they had stated was not

understood, their apprehensions were awakened lest it might be a detachment of the enemy; in this opinion they were immediately confirmed, and wheeling to return, were fired on and pursued. Gibson had scarcely started when he fell; before he could recover, a soldier quicker than the rest had reached him, and pinned him to the ground with his bayonet; fortunately the stab had but slightly wounded him, and he was only held by his clothes; thus pinioned, and perceiving others to be briskly advancing, but a moment was left for deliberation; making a violent exertion, and springing to his feet, he threw his assailant to the ground, and made good his retreat. Colonel Dyer had retreated about fifty yards, when his horse dropped dead; entangled in the fall, and slightly wounded in the thigh, there was little prospect of relief, for the enemy were briskly advancing; his men being near at hand, he ordered them to advance and fire, which checked their approach, and enabled him to escape. Being now at the head of his command,—perceiving an enemy in a direction he had not expected, and uncertain how or where he might find General Coffee, he determined to seek him to the right, and moving on with his little band, forced his way through the enemy's lines, with the loss of sixty-three of his men, who were killed and taken. Captain Beal, with equal bravery, charged through the enemy, carrying off some prisoners, and losing several of his own company.

This reinforcement of the British had arrived from Bayou Bienvenu after night. The boats that landed the first detachment had proceeded back to the shipping, and having returned, were on their way up the Bayou, when they heard the guns of the Caroline: moving hastily on to the assistance of those who had debarked before them, they reached the shore, and knowing nothing of the situation of the two armies, during the engagement, advanced in the rear of General Coffee's brigade. Coming in contact with Colonel Dyer and Captain Beal, they filed off to the left, and reached the British lines.

This detached part of Coffee's brigade, unable to unite with or find him, retired to the place where they had first formed, and joined Colonel Hinds' dragoons, which had remained on

the ground where the troops had first dismounted, that they might cover their retreat if it became necessary.

Jackson had gone into this battle confident of success; and his arrangements were such as would have ensured it even to a much greater extent, but for the intervention of circumstances that were not and could not be foreseen. The Caroline had given her signals and commenced the battle a little too early, before Coffee had reached and taken his position, and before every thing was fully in readiness to attain the objects designed; but it was chiefly owing to the confusion introduced at first into the ranks which checked the rapidity of his advance,—gave the enemy time for preparation, and prevented his division from uniting with the right wing of General Coffee's brigade.

Colonel Hinds, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, was not brought into action during the night. Interspersed as the plain was with innumerable ditches, diverging in different directions, it was impossible that cavalry could act to any kind of advantage; they were now formed in advance, to watch, until morning, the movements of the enemy.

From the experiments just made, Jackson believed it would be in his power, on renewing the attack, to capture the British army: he concluded, therefore, to order down to his assistance General Carroll, with his division, and to assail them again at the dawn of day. Directing Governor Claiborne to remain at his post, with the Louisiana militia, for the defense of an important pass to the city, the Gentilly road, he despatched an express to Carroll, stating to him, that if there had been no appearance of a force during the night, in the direction of Chef Menteur, to hasten and join him with the troops under his command; this order was executed by one o'clock in the morning. Previously, however, to his arrival, a different determination was made. From prisoners who had been brought in, and through deserters, it was ascertained that the strength of the enemy during the battle was four thousand, and, with the reinforcements which had reached them after its commencement, and during the action, their force could not be less than six; at any rate, it would greatly exceed his own, even after

the Tennessee division should be added. Although very decided advantages had been obtained, yet they had been procured under circumstances that might be wholly lost in a contest waged in open day, between forces so disproportionate, and by undisciplined troops against veteran soldiers. Jackson well knew it was incumbent upon him to act a part entirely defensive: should the attempt to gain and destroy the city succeed, numerous difficulties would present themselves, which might be avoided so long as he could hold the enemy in check, and halt him in his designs. Prompted by these considerations —that it was important to pursue a course calculated to assure safety, and believing it attainable in no way so effectually as in occupying some point, and by the strength he might give it, compensate for the inferiority of his numbers and their want of discipline, he determined to forbear all further offensive efforts until he could more certainly discover the views of the enemy, and until the Kentucky troops, which had not yet arrived, should reach him. Pursuing this idea, at four o'clock in the morning, having ordered Colonel Hinds to occupy the ground he was then abandoning, and to observe the enemy closely, he fell back, and formed his line behind a deep ditch, that stretched to the swamp at right angles from the river. There were two circumstances strongly recommending the importance of this place:—the swamp, which from the highlands at Baton Rouge skirts the river at irregular distances, and in many places is almost impervious, had here approached within four hundred yards of the Mississippi, and hence, from the narrowness of the pass, was more easily to be defended; added to which, there was a deep canal, whence the dirt being thrown on the upper side, already formed a tolerable work of defense. Behind this his troops were formed, and proper measures adopted for increasing its strength, with a determination never to abandon it; but there to resist to the last, and valiantly to defend those rights which were sought to be outraged and destroyed.

Promptitude and decision, and activity in execution, constituted the leading traits of Jackson's character. No sooner had he resolved on the course which he thought necessary to be pursued, than with every possible despatch he hastened to

its completion. Before him was an army proud of its name, and distinguished for its deeds of valor. Opposed to which was his own unbending spirit, and an inferior, undisciplined, and unarmed force. He conceived, therefore, that his was a defensive policy, that by prudence and caution he would be able to preserve what offensive operation might have a tendency to endanger. Hence, with activity and industry, based on a hope of ultimate success, he commenced his plan of defense, determining to fortify himself as effectually as the peril and pressure of the moment would permit. When to expect attack he could not tell; preparation and readiness to meet it was for him to determine on, all else was for the enemy. Promptly, therefore, he proceeded with his system of defense; and with such thoughtfulness and anxiety, that until the night of the 27th, when his line was completed, he never slept, or for a moment closed his eyes. Resting his hope of safety here, he was everywhere, through the night, present, encouraging his troops, and hastening a completion of the work. The concern and excitement produced by the mighty object before him, were such as overcame the demand of nature, and for five days and four nights he was without sleep, and constantly employed. His line of defense being completed on the night of the 27th, he, for the first time since the arrival of the enemy, retired to rest and repose.

The soldier who has stood the shock of battle, and knows what slight circumstances oftentimes produce decided advantages, will be able properly to appreciate the events of this night. Although the dreadful carnage of the 8th of January, hereafter to be told, was in fact the finishing blow that struck down the towering hopes of the invaders, and put an end to the contest, yet in the battle of the 23d is there to be found abundant cause why success resulted to our arms, and safety was given to the country. The British had reached the Mississippi without the fire of a gun, and encamped upon its banks as composedly as if they had been seated on their own soil, and at a distance from all danger. These were circumstances which awakened a belief that they expected little opposition—were certain of success—and that the troops with whom they were to contend would scarcely venture to resist

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

them: resting thus confidently in the expectation of success, they would the next day have moved forward and succeeded in the accomplishment of their designs. Jackson, convinced that an early impression was essential to ultimate success, had resolved to assail them at the moment of their landing, and "attack them in their first position;" we have, therefore, seen him, with a force inferior by one-half to that of the enemy, at an unexpected moment break into their camp, and with his undisciplined yeomanry drive before him the pride of England and the conquerors of Europe. It was an event that could not fail to destroy all previous theories, and establish a conclusion which our enemy had not before formed, that they were contending against valor inferior to none they had seen —before which their own bravery had not stood, nor their skill availed them. It had the effect of satisfying them, that the quantity and kind of troops it was in our power here to wield, must be different from any thing that had been represented to them; for much as they had heard of the courage of the man with whom they were contending, they could not suppose that a general, having a country to defend, and a reputation to preserve, would venture to attack on their own chosen ground a greatly superior army, and one which, by the numerous victories it had achieved, had already acquired a fame in arms; they were convinced that his force must greatly surpass what they had expected, and be composed of materials different from what they had imagined.

The American troops which were actually engaged did not amount to two thousand men; they consisted of part of Coffee's brigade and Captain Beal's company, - - 648
The 7th and 44th regiments, - - - - - 763
Company of marines and artillery, - - - 82
Plauche's and Daquin's battalions, - - - - 488
And the Mississippi dragoons under Colonel Hinds, not in the action, - - - - - - - 186

2167;

which for more than an hour maintained a severe conflict with a force of four or five thousand, and retired in safety from the ground, with the loss of twenty-four killed, and one hundred

and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four made prisoners; while the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the enemy were not less than four hundred.

Our officers and soldiers executed every order with promptitude, and nobly sustained their country's character. Lieutenant-colonel Lauderdale, of Coffee's brigade, an officer of great promise, and on whom every reliance was placed, fell at his post, and at his duty; he had entered the service, and descended the river with the volunteers under General Jackson, in the winter of 1812—passed through all the hardships and difficulties of the Creek war, and had ever manifested a readiness to act when his country needed his services. Young, brave, and skillful, he had already afforded evidences of a capacity which might, in future, have become useful; his exemplary conduct both in civil and military life, had acquired for him a respect that rendered his fall a subject of general regret. Lieutenant M'Lelland, a valuable young officer of the 7th, was also among the number of the slain.

Coffee's brigade, during the action, imitating the example of their commander, bravely contended, and ably supported the character they had previously established. The unequal contest in which they were engaged never occurred to them; nor, for a moment checked the rapidity of their advance. Had the British known that they were merely riflemen, and without bayonets, a firm stand would have arrested their progress, and destruction or capture would have been the inevitable consequence; but this circumstance being unknown, every charge they made was crowned with success, producing discomfiture, and routing and driving superior numbers before them. Officers, from the highest to inferior grades, discharged what had been expected of them. Ensign Leach, of the 7th regiment, being wounded through the body, still remained at his post and in the performance of his duty. Colonel Reuben Kemper, enterprising and self-collected, amid the confusion introduced on the left wing, found himself at the head of a handful of men, detached from the main body, and in the midst of a party of the enemy: never did any man better exemplify the truth of the position, that discretion is sometimes the better part of valor: to attempt resistance was idle, and could only eventu-

ate in destruction: with a mind unclouded by the peril that surrounded him, he sought and procured his safety through stratagem. Calling to a group of soldiers who were near, in a positive tone, he demanded of them where their regiment was: lost themselves, they were unable to answer; but supposing him one of their own officers, they assented to his orders, and followed him to his own line, where they were made prisoners.

The 7th regiment, commanded by Major Piere, and the 44th, under Maj. Baker, aided by Maj. Butler, gallantly maintained the conflict—forced the enemy from every secure position he attempted to occupy, and drove him a mile from the first point of attack. Confiding in themselves, and in their general, who was constantly with them, exposed to danger and in the midst of the fight, inspiring by his ardor and encouraging by his example, they advanced to the conflict, nor evinced a disposition to leave it until the prudence of their commander directed them to retire.

From the violence of the assault already made, the fears of the British had been greatly excited; to keep their apprehensions alive was considered important, with a view partially to destroy the overweening confidence with which they had arrived on our shores, and to compel them to act for a time upon the defensive. To effect this, General Coffee, with his brigade, was ordered down on the morning of the 24th, to unite with Colonel Hinds, and made a show in the rear of Lacoste's plantation. The enemy, not yet recovered of the panic produced by the assault of the preceding evening, already believed it was in contemplation to urge another attack, and immediately formed themselves to repel it; but Coffee, having succeeded in recovering some of his horses, which were wandering along the margin of the swamp, and in regaining part of the clothing which his troops had lost the night before, returned to the line, leaving them to conjecture the objects of his movement.

The scanty supply of clothes and blankets that remained to the soldiers, from their long and exposed marches, had been left where they dismounted to meet the enemy. Their numbers were too limited, and the strength of their opponents too well ascertained, for any part of their force to remain and take care of what was left behind; it was so essential to hasten on,

reach their destination, and be ready to act when the signal from the Caroline should announce their co-operation necessary, that no time was afforded them to secure their horses,—which were turned loose, and their recovery trusted entirely to chance. Although many were regained, many were lost; while most of the men remained with but a single suit, to encounter, in the open field, and in swamps covered with water, the hardships of a camp, and the severity of winter. It is a circumstance which entitles them to much credit, that under privations so severely oppressive, complaints or murmurs were never heard. This state of things fortunately was not of long continuance. The story of their sufferings and misfortunes was no sooner known, than the legislature appropriated a sum of money for their relief, which was greatly increased by subscriptions in the city and neighborhood. Materials being purchased, the ladies, with that christian charity and warmth of heart characteristic of their sex, at once exerted themselves in removing their distresses; all their industry was called into action, and in a little time the suffering soldier was relieved. Such generous conduct, in extending assistance at a moment when it was so much needed, while it conferred on those females the highest honor, could not fail to nerve the arm of the brave with new zeal for the defense of their benefactresses. This distinguished mark of their patriotism and benevolence is still remembered; and often, as these valiant men are heard to recount the dangers they have passed, and with peculiar pride to dwell on the mingled honors and hardships of the campaign, they breathe a sentiment of gratitude to those who conferred upon them such distinguished marks of their kindness, and who, by timely interference, alleviated their misfortunes and their sufferings.

To present a check, and keep up a show of resistance, detachments of light troops were occasionally kept in front of the line, assailing and harrassing the enemy's advanced posts, whenever an opportunity was offered of acting to advantage. Every moment that could be gained, and every delay that could be extended to the enemy's attempts to reach the city, was of the utmost importance. The works were rapidly progressing, and hourly increasing in strength. The militia of the state

were every day arriving, and every day the prospect of successful opposition was brightening.

The enemy still remained at their first encampment. To be in readiness to repel an assault when attempted, the most active exertions were made on the 24th and 25th. The canal covering the front of our line was deepened and widened, and a strong mud wall formed of the earth that had been originally thrown out. To prevent any approach until his system of defense should be in a state of greater forwardness, Jackson ordered the levee to be cut, about a hundred yards below the point he had occupied. The river being very high, a broad stream of water passed rapidly through the plain, of the depth of thirty or forty inches, which prevented any approach of troops on foot. Embrasures were formed and two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Spotts, early on the morning of the 24th, were placed in a position to rake the road leading up the levee.

He was under the constant apprehension lest, in spite of his exertions below, the city might, through some other route, be reached and destroyed; and those fears were increased this day by a report that a strong force had arrived—debarked at the head of Lake Borgne, and compelled an abandonment of the defense at Chef Menteur. This, however, proved to be unfounded: the enemy had not appeared in that direction, nor had the officer to whom was intrusted the command of this fort, so much relied on, forgotten his duty or forsaken his post. Acting upon the statement that Major Lacoste had retired from the fort, and fallen back on Bayou St. John, and incensed that orders which, from their importance, should have been faithfully executed, had been thus lightly regarded, he hastened to inform him what he had understood, and to forbid his leaving his position. "The battery I have placed under your command must be defended at all hazards. In you, and the valor of your troops, I repose every confidence—let me not be deceived. With us every thing goes on well; the enemy has not yet advanced. Our troops have covered themselves with glory: it is a noble example, and worthy to be followed by all. Maintain your post, nor ever think of retreating." To give additional strength to a place deemed so important,

inspire confidence and insure safety, Colonel Dyer, with two hundred men, was ordered there, to assist in its defense, and act as videttes, in advance of the occupied points.

General Morgan who, at the English turn, commanded the fort, on the east bank of the river, was instructed to proceed as near the enemy's camp as prudence and safety would permit, and by destroying the levee, to let in the waters of the Mississippi between them. The execution of this order, and a similar one previously made below the line of defense, had entirely insulated the enemy, and prevented his march against either place. On the 26th, however, the commanding general, fearing for the situation of Morgan, who, from the British occupying the intermediate ground, was entirely detached from his camp, directed him to abandon his encampment, carry off such of the cannon as might be wanted, and throw the remainder into the river, where they could be again recovered when the waters receded; to retire to the other side of the river, and assume a position on the right bank, nearly opposite to his line, and have it fortified. This movement was imposed by the relative disposition of the two armies. Necessity, not choice, made it essential that St. Leon should be abandoned.

From every intelligence obtained through deserters and prisoners, it was evident that the British fleet would make an effort to ascend the river, and co-operate with the troops already landed. Lest this, or a diversion in a different quarter, might be attempted, exertions were made to be able to resist at all points, and to interpose such defenses on the Mississippi as might assure protection. The forts on the river, well supported with brave men and heavy pieces of artillery, might, perhaps, have the effect to deter their shipping from venturing in that direction, and dispose them to seek some safer route, if any could be discovered. Pass Barrataria was best calculated for this purpose, and here, in all probability, it was expected the effort might be made. The difficulty of ascending the Mississippi, from the rapidity of the current, its winding course, and the ample protection already given at forts St. Philip and Bourbon, were circumstances to which it was not to be inferred the British were strangers: nor was it to be expected that,

with a knowledge of them, they would venture here the success of an enterprise on which so much depended. It was a more rational conjecture that they would seek a passage through Barrataria, proceed up on the right bank of the river, and gain a position whence, co-operating with the forces on the east side, they might drive our troops from the line they had formed, and, at less hazard, succeed in the accomplishment of their designs. Major Reynolds was accordingly ordered thither, with instructions to place the bayous emptying through this pass in the best possible state of defense—to occupy and strengthen the island—to mount sufficient ordnance, and draw a chain within cannon-shot across, the more effectually to guard the route, and protect it from approach. Lafitte, who had been heretofore promised pardon for the outrages committed against the laws of the United States, and who had already shown a lively zeal on behalf of his adopted country, was also despatched with Reynolds. He was selected, because, from the proofs already given, no doubt was entertained of his fidelity, and because his knowledge of the topography and precise situation of this section of the state was remarkably correct: it was the point where he had constantly rendezvoused, during the time of cruising against the merchant vessels of Spain, under a commission obtained at Carthagena, and where he had become perfectly acquainted with every inlet and entrance to the gulf through which a passage could be effected.

With these arrangements—treason apart—all anxiously alive to the interest of the country, and disposed to protect it, there was little room to apprehend or fear disaster. To use the General's own expression on another occasion, "the surest defense, and one which seldom failed of success, was a rampart of high-minded and brave men." That there were some of this description with him on whom he could safely rely in moments of extreme peril, he well knew; but that there were many strangers to him and to danger, and who had never been called to act in those situations where death, stalking in hideous round, appals and unnerves even the most resolute, was equally certain; whether they would contend with manly firmness, support the cause in which they had embarked, and realize his anxious wishes on the subject, could be only known

in the moment of conflict and trial; when, if disappointed in his expectations, the means of retrieving the evil would be fled, and every thing lost in the result.

As yet the enemy were uninformed of the position of Jackson. What was his situation—what was intended—whether offensive or defensive operations would be pursued, were circumstances on which they possessed no correct knowledge, nor could it be obtained; still their exertions were unremitting to have all things prepared, and in readiness to urge their designs whenever the moment for action should arrive. They had been constantly engaged since their landing, in procuring from their shipping every thing necessary to ulterior operations. A complete command on the lakes, and possession of a point on the margin, presented an uninterrupted ingress and egress, and afforded the opportunity of conveying whatever was wanted, in perfect safety, to their camp. The height of the Mississippi, and the discharge of water through the openings made in the levee, had given an increased depth to the canal, from which they had first debarked—enabled them to advance their boats much farther in the direction of their encampment, and to bring up, with greater convenience, their artillery, bombs, and munitions. Thus engaged during the first three days after their arrival, early on the morning of the 27th a battery was discovered on the bank of the river, which had been erected during the preceding night, and on which were mounted several pieces of heavy ordnance; from this position a fire was opened on the Caroline schooner, lying under the opposite shore.

After the battle of the 23d, in which this vessel had so effectually aided, she had passed to the opposite side of the river, where she had since lain. Her services were too highly appreciated not to be again desired, should the enemy endeavor to advance. Her present situation was considered truly an unsafe one, but it had been essayed in vain to advance her higher up the stream. No favorable breeze had yet arisen to aid her in stemming the current; and towing, and other remedies, had been already resorted to, but without success. Her safety might have been ensured by floating her down the river, and placing her under cover of the guns of the fort; but it

was preferred, as a matter of policy, to risk her where she was, still hourly calculating that a favorable wind might relieve her, rather than, by dropping her with the current, lose those benefits which, against an advance of the enemy, it might be in her power so completely to extend. Commodore Patterson had left her on the 26th, by the orders of the commanding general, when Captain Henly made a further but ineffectual effort to force her up the current, near to the line, for the double purpose of its defense and for her own safety.

These attempts to remove her being discovered at daylight on the morning of the 27th, a battery, mounting five guns, opened upon her, discharging bombs and red-hot shot; it was spiritedly answered, but without affecting the battery; there being but a long twelve-pounder that could reach. The second fire had lodged a hot shot in the hold, directly under her cables, whence it could not be removed, and where it immediately communicated fire to the schooner. The shot from the battery were constantly taking effect, firing her in different places, and otherwise producing material injury; while the blaze, already kindled under her cables, was rapidly extending its ravages. A well-grounded apprehension of her commander, that she could be no longer defended,—the flames bursting forth in different parts, and fast increasing—induced a fear lest the magazine should be soon reached, and every thing destroyed. One of his crew being killed, and six wounded, and not a glimmering of hope entertained that she could be preserved, orders were given to abandon her. The crew reached the shore in safety, and in a short time afterward she blew up.

Although thus unexpectedly deprived of so material a dependence for successful defense, an opportunity was soon presented of using her brave crew to advantage. Gathering confidence from what had been just effected, the enemy left their encampment, and moved in the direction of our line. Their numbers had been increased, and Major-general Sir Edward Packenham now commanded in person. Early on the 28th, his columns commenced their advance to storm our works. At the distance of half a mile, their heavy artillery opened, and quantities of bombs, balls, and congreve rockets were dis-

obliquely to, and not very remote from our line. Henderson, with a detachment of two hundred men, who was sent out by General Carroll to drive them from a position whence they were effecting some injury, and greatly annoying our troops. Had he advanced in the manner directed, he would have been less exposed, and enabled more effectually to have secured the object intended: but, misunderstanding the order, he proceeded in a different route, and fell a victim to his error. Instead of marching in the direction of the wood, and turning the enemy, which might have cut off their retreat, he proceeded in front, towards the river, leaving them in rear of the fence, and himself and his detachment open and exposed. His mistake being perceived from the line, he was called by the adjutant-general, and directed to return; but the noise of the waters, through which they were wading, prevented any communication. Having reached a knoll of dry ground, he formed, and attempted the execution of his order; but soon fell by a wound in the head. Deprived of their commander, and perceiving their situation hazardous and untenable, the detachment retreated to the line, with the loss of their colonel and five men.

While this advance was made, a column of the enemy was threatening an attack on our extreme left. To frustrate the attempt, Coffee was ordered with his riflemen to hasten through the woods, and check their approach. The enemy, although greatly superior to him in numbers, no sooner discovered his movement than they retired, and abandoned the attack they had previously meditated.

A supposed disaffection in New-Orleans, and an enemy in front, were circumstances well calculated to excite unpleasant forebodings. General Jackson believed it necessary and essential to his security, while contending with avowed foes, not to be wholly inattentive to dangers lurking at home; but, by guarding vigilantly, to be able to suppress any treasonable purpose the moment it should be developed, and before it should have time to mature. Previously, therefore, to departing from the city, on the evening of the 23d, he had ordered Major Butler, his aid, to remain with the guards, and be vigilant that nothing transpired in his absence calculated to operate injuriously. His fears that there were many of the

inhabitants who felt no attachment to the government, and would not scruple to surrender whenever, prompted by their interest, it should become necessary, has been already noticed.

In this belief, subsequent circumstances evinced there was no mistake, and showed that to his assiduity and energy is to be ascribed that the country was protected and saved. It is a fact, which was disclosed on making an exchange of prisoners, that, despite of all the efforts made to prevent it, the enemy were daily and constantly apprized of every thing that transpired in our camp. Every arrangement, and every change of position, was immediately communicated. On the day subsequent to a contest on the lakes, on the 14th December, Mr. Shields, purser in the navy, had been despatched with a flag, to Cat island, accompanied by Dr. Murrell, for the purpose of alleviating the situation of our wounded, and to effect a negotiation, by which they should be liberated on parole. We are not aware that such an application militated against the usages and customs of war: if not, the flag of truce should have been respected; nor ought its bearer to have been detained as a prisoner. Admiral Cochrane's pretended fear that it was a wile, designed to ascertain his strength and situation, is far from presenting any sufficient excuse for so wanton an outrage on propriety and the rules of war. If this were apprehended, could not the messengers have been met at a distance from the fleet, and ordered back without a near approach? Had this been done, no information could have been gained, and the object designed to be secured by the detention would have been answered, without infringing that amicable intercourse between contending armies, which, when violated or disregarded, opens a door to brutal and savage warfare. Finding they did not return, the cause of it was at once correctly divined.

The British admiral was very solicitous, and resorted to various means, to obtain from these gentlemen information of the strength and condition, and disposition of our army; but so cautious a reserve was maintained, that from them nothing could be elicited. Shields was perceived to be quite deaf, and calculating on some advantage to be derived from this circumstance, he and the doctor were placed at night in the green-

room, where any conversation which occurred between them could readily be heard. Suspecting, perhaps, something of the kind, after having retired, and every thing was seemingly still, they began to speak of their situation—the circumstances of their being detained, and of the prudent caution with which they had guarded themselves against communicating any information to the British admiral. But, continued Shields, how greatly these gentlemen will be disappointed in their expectations, for Jackson, with the twenty thousand troops he now has, and the reinforcements from Kentucky, which must speedily reach him, will be able to destroy any force that can be landed from these ships. Every word was heard and treasured, and not supposing there was any design, or that he presumed himself overheard, they were beguiled by it, and at once concluded our force to be as great as it was represented; and hence, no doubt, arose the reason of that prudent care and caution with which the enemy afterward proceeded; for "nothing," remarked a British officer, at the close of the invasion, "was kept a secret from us, except your numbers; this although diligently sought after, could never be procured."

Between the 23d, and the attack on the 28th, to carry our line, Major Butler, who still remained at his post in the city, was applied to by Fulwar Skipwith, at that time Speaker of the Senate, to ascertain the commanding general's views, provided he should be driven from his line of encampment, and compelled to retreat through the city; would he in that event destroy it? It was, indeed, a curious inquiry from one who, having spent his life in serving his country in different capacities, might better have understood the duty of a subordinate officer; and that even, if, from his situation, Major Butler had so far acquired the confidence of his general as to have become acquainted with his views and designs, he was not at liberty to divulge them, without destroying confidence and acting criminally. On asking the cause of the inquiry, Mr. Skipwith replied, it was rumored, and so understood, that if driven from his position, and made to retreat upon the city, General Jackson had it in contemplation to lay it in ruins; the legislature, he said, desired information on this subject, that if such were his intentions, they might, by offering terms of capitula-

tion to the enemy, avert so serious a calamity. That a sentiment having for its object a surrender of the city, should be entertained by this body was scarcely credible; yet a few days brought the certainty of it more fully to view, and showed that they were already devising plans to insure the safety of themselves and property, even at any sacrifice. While the general was hastening along the line, from ordering Coffee, as we have just observed, against a column of the British on the extreme left, he was hailed by Mr. Duncan, one of his volunteer aids, and informed that already it was agitated, secretly, by the members of the legislature, to offer terms of capitulation to the enemy, and proffer a surrender, and that Gov. Claiborne awaited his orders on the subject. Poised as was the result, the safety or fall of the city resting in uncertainty, although it was plainly to be perceived, that, with a strong army before them, no such resolution could be carried into effect, yet it might be productive of evil, and in the end bring about the most fatal consequences. Even the disclosure of such a wish on the part of the legislature might create parties, excite opposition in the army, and inspire the enemy with renewed confidence. The Tennessee forces, and Mississippi volunteers, it was not feared would be effected by the measure; but it might detach the Louisiana militia, and even extend itself to the ranks of the regular troops. Jackson was greatly incensed, that those whose safety he had so much at heart, should be seeking, under the authority of office, to mar his best exertions. He was, however, too warmly pressed at the moment, for the battle was raging, to give it the attention its importance merited; but, availing himself of the first respite from the violence of the attack waged against him, he apprized Governor Claiborne of what he had heard;—ordered him closely to watch the conduct of the legislature, and the moment a project of offering a capitulation to the enemy should be fully disclosed, to place a guard at the door and confine them to their chamber. The Governor, in his zeal to execute the command, and from a fear of the consequences involved in such conduct, construed as imperative an order which was merely contingent; and placing an armed force at the door of the capitol, prevent-

ed the members from convening, and their schemes from maturing.

The purport of this order was essentially misconceived by the Governor; or, perhaps, with a view to avoid subsequent inconveniences and complaints, was designedly mistaken. Jackson's object was not to restrain the legislature in the discharge of their official duties; for although he thought that such a moment, when the sound of the cannon was constantly pealing in their ears, was inauspicious to wholesome legislation, and that it would have better comported with the state of the times for them to abandon their civil duties and appear in the field, yet it was a matter indelicate to be proposed: and it was hence preferred, that they should adopt whatever course might be suggested by their own notions of propriety. This sentiment would have been still adhered to; but when, through the communication of Mr. Duncan, they were represented as entertaining opinions and schemes adverse to the general interest and safety of the country, the necessity of a new and different course of conduct was at once obvious. But he did not order Governor Claiborne to interfere with or prevent them from proceeding with their duties; on the contrary, he was instructed, as soon as any thing hostile to the general cause should be ascertained, to place a guard at the door, and keep the members to their post and to their duty. My object in this, remarked the General, was, that then they would be able to proceed with their business without producing the slightest injury: whatever schemes they might entertain would have remained with themselves, without the power of circulating them to the prejudice of any other interest than their own. I had intended to have had them well treated and kindly dealt by; and thus abstracted from every thing passing without doors, a better opportunity would have been afforded them to enact good and wholesome laws; but Governor Claiborne mistook my order, and instead of shutting them in doors, contrary to my wishes and expectations turned them out.

Before this he had been called on by a special committee of the legislature to know what his course would be, should necessity compel him from his position. "If," replied the General, "I thought the hair of my head could divine what I

should do, forthwith I would cut it off: go back with this answer; say to your honorable body, that if disaster does overtake me, and the fate of war drives me from my line to the city, they may expect to have a very warm session." "And what did you design to do," I inquired, "provided you had been forced to retreat?" "I should," he replied, "have retreated to the city, fired it, and fought the enemy amid the surrounding flames. There were with me men of wealth, owners of considerable property, who, in such an event, would have been among the foremost to have applied the torch to their own buildings; and what they had left undone, I should have completed. Nothing for the comfortable maintenance of the enemy would have been left in the rear. I would have destroyed New-Orleans—occupied a position above on the river—cut off all supplies, and in this way compelled them to depart from the country."

We shall not pretend to ascribe this conduct of the legislature to disaffection, or to treasonable motives. The impulse that produced it was, no doubt interest—a principle of the human mind which strongly sways, and often destroys its best conclusions. The disparity of the two armies, in numbers, preparation, and discipline, had excited apprehension, and destroyed hope. If Jackson were driven back, and little else was looked for, rumor fixed his determination of devoting the city to destruction: but even if such were not his intention, the wrath and vengeance of the enemy might be fairly calculated to be in proportion to the opposition they should receive. Although these considerations may somewhat palliate, they do not justify. The government was represented in the person of the commanding General, on whom rested all responsibility, and whose voice on the subject of resistance or capitulation should alone have been heard. In the field were persons who were enduring hardships and straining every nerve for the general safety. A few of the members of their own body, too, were there who did not despond. Might not patriotism, then have admonished these men, honored as they were with the confidence of the people, rather to have pursued a course having for its object to keep alive excitement, than to have endeavored to introduce fear and paralyze exer-

tion? Such conduct, if productive of nothing worse, was well calculated to excite alarm. If the militia, who had been hastily drawn to the camp, and who were yet trembling for the safety of their families, had been told that a few private men of standing in society had expressed their opinions, and declared resistance useless, it would without doubt have occasioned serious apprehensions; but in a much greater degree would they be calculated to arise, when told that the members of the Legislature, chosen to preside over the safety and destinies of the State, after due deliberation, had pronounced all attempts at successful opposition vain and ineffectual.

Here was an additional reason why expedients should be devised, and every precaution adopted, to prevent any communication by which the slightest intelligence should be had of our situation, already indeed sufficiently deplorable. Additional guards were posted along the swamp, on both sides of the Mississippi, to arrest all intercourse; while on the river, the common highway, watch boats were constantly plying during the night, in different directions, so that a log could scarcely float down the stream unperceived. Two flat bottomed boats, on a dark night, were turned adrift above, to ascertain if vigilance were preserved, and whether there would be any possibility of escaping the guards, and passing in safety to the British lines. The light boats discovered them on their passage, and on the alarm being given, they were opened upon by the Louisiana sloop, and the batteries on the shore, and in a few minutes were sunk. In spite, however, of every precaution, treason still discovered avenues through which to project and execute her nefarious plans, and through them was constantly afforded information to the enemy; carried to them, no doubt, by adventurous friends, who sought and effected their nightly passage through the deepest parts of the swamp, where it was impossible for sentinels to be stationed.*

**Letter from Charles K. Blanchard to General Jackson.*

NEW-ORLEANS, March 20, 1814.

SIR: I have the honor, agreeably to your request, to state to your excellency, in writing, the substance of a conversation that

Great inconvenience was sustained for the want of arms, and much anxiety felt, lest the enemy, through their faithful adherents, might on this subject also obtain information. To prevent it as far as possible, General Jackson endeavored to conceal the strength and situation of his army, by suffering his reports to be seen by none but himself and the adjutant-general. Many of the troops in the field were supplied with common guns, which were of little service. The Kentucky troops, daily expected, were also understood to be badly provided with arms. Uncertain but that the city might yet contain many articles that would be serviceable, orders were issued to the Mayor of New-Orleans, directing him diligently to inquire through every store and house, and take possession of all the muskets, bayonets, spades, and axes, he could find. Understanding too that there were many young men who, from different pretexts, had not appeared in the field, he was instructed to obtain a register of every man in the city under the age of fifty, that measures might be concerted for drawing forth those who had hitherto appeared backward in engaging in the pending contest.

Frequent light skirmishes by advanced parties, without material effect on either side, were the only incidents that took place for several days. Colonel Hinds, at the head of the Mississippi dragoons, on the 30th December, was ordered to dislodge a party of the enemy who, under cover of a ditch that ran across the plain, were annoying our fatigue parties.

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occurred between Quarter-master Peddie, of the British army, and myself, on the 11th inst., on board his Britannic Majesty's ship *Herald*. Quarter-master Peddie observed, that the commanding officers of the British forces were daily in the receipt of every information from the city of New-Orleans which they might require, in aid of their operations, for the completion of the objects of the expedition: that they were perfectly acquainted with the situation of every part of our forces, the manner in which the same was situated, the number of our fortifications, their strength, position, &c. As to the battery on the left bank of the Mississippi, he described its situation, its distance from the main post, and promptly offered me a plan of the works. He furthermore stated, that the above information was received from seven or eight persons, in the city of New-Orleans, from whom he could, at any hour, procure every information necessary to promote his Majesty's interest.

In his advance, he was unexpectedly thrown into an ambuscade, and became exposed to the fire of a line which had hitherto lain concealed and unobserved. His collected conduct and gallant deportment gained him and his corps the approbation of the commanding general, and extricated him from the danger in which he was placed. The enemy, forced from their position, retired, and he returned to the line with the loss of five of his men.

The British were encamped two miles below the American army, on a perfect plain, and in full view. Although foiled in their attempt to carry our works by the force of their batteries on the 28th, they yet resolved upon another attack, and one which they believed would be more successful. Presuming their failure to have arisen from not having sufficiently strong batteries and heavy ordnance, a more enlarged arrangement was resorted to, with a confidence of silencing opposition, and effecting such breaches in our intrenchment as would enable their columns to pass, without being exposed to any considerable hazard. The interim between the 28th of December and 1st January was accordingly spent in preparing to execute their designs. Their boats had been despatched to the shipping, and an additional supply of heavy cannon landed through Bayou Bienvenu, whence they had first debarked.

During the night of the 31st December they were busily engaged. An impenetrable fog next morning, which was not dispelled until nine o'clock, by concealing their purpose, aided them in the plans they were projecting, and gave time for the completion of their works. This having disappeared, several heavy batteries, at the distance of six hundred yards, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades, were presented to view. No sooner was it sufficiently clear to distinguish objects at a distance, than these were opened, and a tremendous burst of artillery commenced, accompanied with congreve rockets, that filled the air in all directions. Our troops, protected by a defense, which from their constant labors and exertions they believed to be impregnable, unmoved and undisturbed, maintained their ground, and by their skillful management, in the end succeeded in dismounting and silencing the guns of the enemy. The British, through the friendly in-

terference of some disaffected citizens, having been apprized of the situation of the general's quarters, that he dwelt in a house at a small distance in the rear of his line of defense, directed against it their first and principal efforts, with a view to destroy the commander. So great was the number of balls thrown, that in a little while its porticos were beaten down, and the building made a complete wreck. In this dishonorable design they were however disappointed; for with Jackson it was a constant practice, on the first appearance of danger, not to wait in his quarters watching events, but instantly to proceed to the line, and be ready to form his arrangements as circumstances might require. Constantly in expectation of a charge, he was never absent from the post of danger; and thither he had this morning repaired, at the first sound of the cannon, to aid in defense, and inspire his troops with firmness. Our guns along the line now opened to repel the assault, and a constant roar of cannon, on both sides, continued until nearly noon; when, by the superior skill of our engineers, the two batteries formed on the right, next the woods, were nearly beaten down, and many of the guns dismounted, broken, and rendered useless. That next the river still continued its fire until three o'clock; when, perceiving all attempts to force a breach ineffectual, the enemy gave up the contest and retired. Every act of theirs discovers a strange delusion, and unfolds upon what wild and fanciful grounds all their expectations were founded. That the American troops were well posted, and strongly defended by pieces of heavy ordnance, mounted along their line, was a fact well known; yet a belief was confidently indulged that the undisciplined collection which constituted the strength of our army, would be able to derive little benefit from such a circumstance; and that artillery could produce but slight advantages in the hands of persons who were strangers to the manner of using it. That many who, from necessity, were called to the direction of the guns, were at first entirely unacquainted with their management, is indeed true; yet the accuracy and precision with which they threw their shot, afforded a convincing argument either that they possessed the capacity of becoming in a short time well acquainted with the art of gunnery, or that it was a

son to reclaim it, and to demand its delivery. The general, having heard his complaint, and ascertained from him that he was unemployed in any military service, directed a musket to be brought to him, and placing it in his hand, ordered him on the line, remarking, at the same time, that as he seemed to be a man possessed of property, he knew of none who had a better right to fight and to defend it.

The British had again retired to their encampment. It was well understood by Jackson that they were in daily expectation of considerable reinforcements; though he rested with confidence in the belief that a few more days would also bring to his assistance the troops from Kentucky. Each party, therefore, was busily and constantly engaged in preparation, the one to wage a vigorous attack, the other bravely to defend, and resolutely to oppose it.

The position of the American army was in the rear of an intrenchment formed of earth, and which extended in a straight line from the river to a considerable distance in the swamp. In front was a deep ditch, which had been formerly used as a mill-race. The Mississippi had receded and left this dry next the river, though in many places the water still remained. Along the line, and at unequal distances, to the centre of General Carroll's command, were guns mounted, of different caliber, from six to thirty-two pounders. Near the river, and in advance of the intrenchment, was erected a redoubt, with embrasures, commanding the road along the levee, and calculated to rake the ditch in front.

We have heretofore stated, that General Morgan was ordered, on the 24th of December, to cross to the west bank of the Mississippi. From an apprehension entertained that an attempt might be made through Barrataria, and the city reached from the right bank of the river, the General had extended his defense there likewise: in fact, unacquainted with the enemy's views—not knowing the number of their troops, nor but that they might have sufficient strength to wage an attack in various directions, and anxiously solicitous to be prepared at all points, he had carefully divided out his forces, that he might guard and be able to protect, in whatever direction an assault should be waged. His greatest fears, and hence his

strongest defense, next the one occupied by himself, was on the Chef Menteur road, where Governor Claiborne, at the head of the Louisiana militia, was posted. The position on the right was formed on the same plan with the line on the left—lower down than the one on the left, and extending to the swamp at right angles to the river. Here General Morgan commanded.

To be prepared against every possible contingency that might arise, Jackson had established another line of defense, about two miles in the rear of the one at present occupied, which was intended as a rallying point if he should be driven from his first position. With the aid of his cavalry, to give a momentary check to the advance of the enemy, he expected to be enabled, with inconsiderable injury, to reach it; where he would again have advantages on his side, be in a situation to dispute a further passage to the city, and arrest their progress. To inspirit his own soldiers, and to exhibit to the enemy as great a show as possible of strength and intended resistance, his unarmed troops, which constituted no inconsiderable number, were here stationed. All intercourse between the lines, except by confidential officers, was prohibited, and every precaution and vigilance employed not only to keep this want of preparation concealed from the enemy, but even from being known on his own lines.

Occasional firing at a distance, which produced nothing of consequence, was all that marked the interim from the 1st to the 8th of January.

On the 4th of this month, the long-expected reinforcement from Kentucky, amounting to twenty-two hundred and fifty, under the command of Major-general Thomas, arrived at head quarters; but so ill provided with arms as to be incapable of rendering any considerable service. The alacrity with which the citizens of this state had proceeded to the frontiers, and aided in the north-western campaigns, added to the disasters which ill-timed policy or misfortune had produced, had created such a drain that arms were not to be procured. They had advanced, however, to their point of destination, with an expectation of being supplied on their arrival. About five hundred of them had muskets; the rest were provided with guns,

from which little or no advantage could be expected. The mayor of New-Orleans, at the request of General Jackson, had already examined and drawn from the city every weapon that could be found; while the arrival of the Louisiana militia, in an equally unprepared situation, rendered it impossible for the evil to be effectually remedied. A boat laden with arms was somewhere on the river, intended for the use and defense of the lower country; but where it was, or when it might arrive, rested alone on hope and conjecture. Expresses had been dispatched up the river, for three hundred miles, to seek and hasten it on; still there were no tidings of an approach. That so many brave men, at a moment of such anxious peril, should be compelled to stand with folded arms, unable, from their situation, to render the least possible service to their country, was an event greatly to be deplored, and did not fail to excite the feelings and sensibility of the commanding General. His mind active, and prepared for any thing but despondency, sought relief in vain; there was none. No alternative was presented but to place them at his intrenchment in the rear, conceal their actual condition, and, by the show they might make, add to his appearance and numbers, without at all increasing his strength.

Information was now received that Major-general Lambert had joined the British commander-in-chief with a considerable reinforcement. It had been heretofore announced in the American camp that additional forces were expected, and something decisive might be looked for as soon as they should arrive. This circumstance, in connexion with others no less favoring the idea, had led to the conclusion that a few days more would, in all probability, bring on the struggle which would decide the fate of the city. It was more than ever necessary to keep concealed the situation of his army; and, above all, to preserve as secret as possible its unarmed condition. To restrict all communication even with his own lines, was now, as danger increased, rendered more important. None were permitted to leave the line, and none from without to pass into his camp, but such as were to be implicitly confided in. The line of sentinels was strengthened in front, that none might pass to the enemy, should desertion be attempted: yet, notwithstand-

ing his caution and care, his plans and situation were disclosed. On the night of the 6th of January, a soldier from the line, by some means, succeeded in eluding the vigilance of our sentinels. Early next morning his departure was discovered; it was at once correctly conjectured he had gone over to the enemy, and would, no doubt, afford them all the information in his power to communicate. This opinion, as subsequent circumstances disclosed, was well founded; and dearly did he atone his crime. He unfolded to the British the situation of the American line, the late reinforcements we had received, and the unarmed condition of many of the troops; and pointing to the centre of General Carroll's division, as a place occupied by militia alone, he recommended it as the point where an attack might be most safely and prudently made.

Other intelligence received, was confirmatory of the belief of an impending attack. From some prisoners, taken on the lake, it was ascertained the enemy were busily engaged in deepening Villery's canal, with a view of passing their boats and ordnance to the Mississippi. During the 7th, a constant bustle was perceived in the British camp. Along the borders of the canal, their soldiers were continually in motion, marching and maneuvering, for no other purpose than to conceal those who were busily engaged at work in the rear. To ascertain the cause of this uncommon stir, and learn their designs, as far as was practicable, Commodore Patterson had proceeded down the river, on the opposite side, and having gained a favorable position in front of their encampment, discovered them to be actually engaged in deepening the passage to the river. It was no difficult matter to divine their purpose. No other conjecture could be entertained, than that an assault was intended to be made on the line of defense commanded by General Morgan; which, if gained, would expose our troops on the left bank to the fire of the redoubt erected on the right; and in this way compel them to an abandonment of their position. To counteract this scheme was important: and measures were immediately taken to prevent the execution of a plan, which, if successful, would be attended with incalculable dangers. An increased strength was given to this line. The second regiment of Louisiana militia, and four hundred

Kentucky troops, were directed to be crossed over, to reinforce and protect it. Owing to some delay and difficulty in arming them, the latter amounting, instead of four hundred, to but one hundred and eighty, did not arrive until the morning of the 8th. A little before day they were despatched to aid an advanced party, who, under the command of Major Arnaut, had been sent to watch the movements of the enemy, and oppose their landing. The hopes indulged from their opposition were not realized; and the enemy, unmolested, reached the shore.

Morgan's position, besides being strengthened by several brass twelves, was defended by a strong battery, mounting twenty-four pounders, directed by Commodore Patterson, which afforded additional strength and security. The line itself was not strong; yet, if properly maintained by the troops selected to defend it, was believed fully adequate to the purpose of successful resistance. Late at night Patterson ascertained that the enemy had succeeded in passing their boats through the canal, and immediately communicated his information to the General. The Commodore had already formed the idea of dropping the Louisiana schooner down, to attack and sink them. This thought, though well conceived, was abandoned, from the danger involved, and from an apprehension lest the batteries erected on the river, with which she would come in collision, might, by the aid of hot shot, succeed in blowing her up. It was preferred patiently to await their arrival, believing it would be practicable, with the bravery of more than fifteen hundred men, and the slender advantages possessed from their line of defense, to maintain their position, and repel the assailants.

On the left bank, where the general in person commanded, every thing was in readiness to meet the assault when it should be made. The redoubt on the levee was defended by a company of the seventh regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Ross. The regular troops occupied that part of the intrenchment next the river. General Carroll's division was in the centre, supported by the Kentucky troops, under General John Adair; while the extreme left, extending for a considerable distance into the swamp, was protected by the brigade of General Coffee. How soon the attack should be

waged was uncertain; at what moment rested with the enemy —with us, to be in readiness for resistance. There were many circumstances, however, favoring the belief that the hour of contest was not far distant, and indeed fast approaching; the bustle of to-day,—the efforts to carry their boats into the river,—the fascines and scaling-ladders that were preparing—were circumstances pointing to attack, and indicating the hour to be near at hand. General Jackson, unmoved by appearances, anxiously desired a contest, which he believed would give a triumph to his arms, and terminate the hardships of his suffering soldiers. Unremitting in exertion, and constantly vigilant, his precaution kept pace with the zeal and preparation of the enemy. He seldom slept: he was always at his post, performing the duties of both general and soldier. His sentinels were doubled, and extended as far as possible in the direction of the British camp; while a considerable portion of the troops were constantly at the line, with arms in their hands, ready to act when the first alarm should be given.

For eight days had the two armies lain upon the same field, and in view of each other, without any thing decisive being on either side effected. Twice since their landing had the British columns essayed to effect by storm the execution of their plans, and twice had failed—been compelled to relinquish the attempt, and retire from the contest. It was not to be expected that things could long remain in this dubious state. Soldiers, the pride of England,—the boasted conquerors of Europe, were there; distinguished generals their leaders, who earnestly desired to announce to their country and the world their signal achievements. The high expectations which had been indulged of the success of this expedition were to be realized at every peril, or disgrace would follow the failure.

The 8th of January at length arrived. The day dawned; and the signals intended to produce concert in the enemy's movements were descried. On the left, near the swamp, a skyrocket was perceived rising in the air; and presently another ascended from the right, next the river. They were intended to announce that all was prepared and ready, to pro-

ceed and carry by storm a defense which had twice foiled their utmost efforts. Instantly the charge was made, and with such rapidity, that our soldiers at the outposts with difficulty fled in.

The British batteries, which had been demolished on the 1st of the month, had been re-established during the preceding night, and heavy pieces of cannon mounted, to aid in their intended operations. These now opened, and showers of bombs and balls were poured upon our line; while the air was lighted with their congreve rockets. The two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Packenham in person, and supported by Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward; the right against the centre of General Carroll's command, the left against our redoubt on the levee. A thick fog that obscured the morning enabled them to approach within a short distance of our intrenchment before they were discovered. They were now perceived advancing with firm, quick, and steady pace, in column, with a front of sixty or seventy deep. Our troops, who had for some time been in readiness, and waiting their appearance, gave three cheers, and instantly the whole line was lighted with the blaze of their fire. A burst of artillery and small arms, pouring with destructive aim upon them, mowed down their front, and arrested their advance. In our musketry there was not a moment's intermission: as one party discharged their pieces, another succeeded; alternately loading and appearing, no pause could be perceived—it was one continued volley. The columns already perceived their dangerous and exposed situation. Battery No. 7, on the left, was ably served by Lieutenant Spotts, and galled them with an incessant and destructive fire. Batteries No. 6 and 8 were no less actively employed, and no less successful in felling them to the ground. Notwithstanding the severity of our fire, which few troops could for a moment have withstood, some of those brave men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch in front of our works, where they remained during the action, and were afterward made prisoners. The horror before them was too great to be withstood: and already were the British troops seen wavering in their determination, and receding from the conflict. At this moment, Sir Edward Pack-

enham, hastening to the front, endeavored to encourage and inspire them with renewed zeal. His example was of short continuance; he soon fell mortally wounded in the arms of his aid-de-camp, not far from our line. Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell, and were borne from the field dangerously wounded. At this moment, General Lambert, who was advancing at a small distance in the rear, with the reserve, met the columns precipitately retreating, and in great confusion. His efforts to stop them were unavailing, they continued retreating, until they reached a ditch at the distance of four hundred yards, where a momentary safety being found, they were rallied and halted.

The field before them, over which they had advanced, was strewed with the dead and dying. Danger hovered still around; yet urged and encouraged by their officers, who feared their own disgrace involved in the failure, they again moved to the charge. They were already near enough to deploy, and were endeavoring to do so; but the same constant and unremitted resistance that caused their first retreat, continued yet unabated. Our batteries had never ceased their fire; their constant discharges of grape and canister, and the fatal aim of our musketry, mowed down the front of the columns as fast as they could be formed. Satisfied nothing could be done, and that certain destruction awaited all further attempts, they forsook the contest and the field in disorder, leaving it almost entirely covered with the dead and wounded. It was in vain their officers endeavored to animate them to further resistance, and equally vain to attempt coercion. The panic produced from the dreadful repulse they had experienced, the plain on which they had acted being covered with innumerable bodies of their countrymen, while with their most zealous exertions they had been unable to obtain the slightest advantage, were circumstances well calculated to make even the most submissive soldier oppose the authority that would have controlled him.

The light companies of fusileers, the forty-third and ninety-third regiments, and one hundred men from the West India regiment, led on by Colonel Rennie, were ordered to proceed under cover of some chimneys standing in the field, until hav-

ing cleared them, to oblique to the river, and advance, protected by the levee against our redoubt on the right. This work having been but lately commenced, was in an unfinished state. It was not until the 4th that General Jackson, much against his own opinion, had yielded to the suggestions of others, and permitted its projection; and, considering the plan on which it had been sketched, had not yet received that strength necessary to its safe defense. The detachment ordered against this place formed the left of General Keane's command. Rennie executed his orders with great bravery, and urging forward, arrived at the ditch. His advance was greatly annoyed by Commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon mounted on the redoubt; but reaching our works and passing the ditch, Rennie, sword in hand, leaped on the wall, and calling to his troops, bade them follow; he had scarcely spoken, when he fell by the fatal aim of our riflemen. Pressed by the impetuosity of the superior numbers who were mounting the wall and entering at the embrasures, our troops had retired, to the line, in rear of the redoubt. A momentary pause ensued, but only to be interrupted with increased horrors. Captain Beal, with the city riflemen, cool and self-possessed, perceiving the enemy in his front, opened upon them, and at every discharge brought the object to the ground. To advance, or maintain the point gained, was equally impracticable for the enemy: to retreat or surrender was the only alternative: for they already perceived the division on the right thrown into confusion, and hastily leaving the field.

General Jackson, being informed of the success of the enemy on the right, and of their being in possession of the redoubt, pressed forward a reinforcement to regain it. Previously to its arrival, they had abandoned the attempt and were retiring. They were severely galled by such of our guns as could be brought to bear. The levee afforded them considerable protection; yet by Commodore Patterson's redoubt on the right bank, they suffered greatly. Enfiladed by this on their advance, they had been greatly annoyed, and now in their retreat were no less severely assailed. Numbers found a grave in the ditch before our line; and of those who

gained the redoubt, not one it is believed escaped: they were shot down as fast as they entered. The route along which they had advanced and retired was strewed with bodies. Affrighted at the carnage, they moved from the scene hastily and in confusion. Our batteries were still continuing the slaughter, and cutting them down at every step: safety seemed only to be attainable when they should have retired without the range of our shot; which, to troops galled as severely as they were, was too remote a relief. Pressed by this consideration, they fled to the ditch, whither the right division had retreated, and there remained until night permitted them to retire.

The loss of the British in the main attack on the left bank, has been at different times variously stated. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, ascertained on the next day after the battle, by Colonel Hayne, the inspector-general, places it at twenty-six hundred. General Lambert's report to Lord Bathurst, makes it but two thousand and seventy. From prisoners, however, and information and circumstances derived through other sources, it must have been even greater than is stated by either. Among them was the Commander-in-chief, and Major-general Gibbs, who died of his wounds the next day, besides many of their most valuable and distinguished officers; while the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was but thirteen. Our effective force at the line on the left bank, was three thousand seven hundred; that of the enemy, at least nine thousand. The force landed in Louisiana has been variously reported; the best information places it at about fourteen thousand. A part of this acted with Colonel Thornton; the climate had rendered many unfit for the duties of the field; while a considerable number had been killed and wounded in the different contests since their arrival. Their strength, therefore, may be fairly estimated, on the 8th, at the number we have stated; at any rate, not less.

That this was considered an undertaking of greater magnitude and hazard than they were disposed openly to admit, is obvious, from one circumstance. The officer who leads his troops on a forlorn attempt, not unfrequently places before them allurements stronger than either authority or duty. On

the present occasion, this resort was not omitted; and inducements were held out, than which nothing more inviting could be offered to an infuriated soldiery. Let it be remembered of that gallant but misguided general, who has been so much deplored by the British nation, that to the cupidity of his soldiers he promised the wealth of the city, as a recompense for their gallantry and desperation; while, with brutal licentiousness, they were to revel in lawless indulgence, and triumph uncontrolled over female innocence. Scenes like these, our nation, dishonored and insulted, had already witnessed: she had witnessed them at Hampton and Havre-de-Grace; but it was reserved for her yet to learn, that an officer of the character and standing of Sir Edward Packenham, polished, generous and brave, should, to induce his soldiers to acts of daring valor, permit them, as a reward, to insult, injure and debase those whom all mankind, even savages, reverence and respect. The history of Europe, since civilized warfare began, is challenged to afford an instance of such gross depravity, such wanton outrage on the morals and dignity of society. English writers may deny the correctness of the charge: it certainly interests them to do so; but its authenticity is too well established to admit of doubt, while its criminality is increased, from being the act of a people who hold themselves up to surrounding nations as examples of every thing that is correct and proper. The facts and circumstances which were presented at the time of this transaction, left no doubt on the minds of our officers, but that "*Beauty* and *Booty*" was the watch-word of the day. The information was obtained from prisoners, and confirmed by the books of two of their orderly-sergeants taken in battle, which contained recorded proof of the fact.

The events of this day afford abundant evidence of the liberality of the American soldiers, and show a striking difference in the troops of the two nations. While those of one were allured to acts of bravery and duty by the promised pillage and plunder of the inhabitants, and the commission of crimes abhorrent in the sight of earth and heaven; the other fought but for his country, and having repelled her assailants, instantly forgot all enmity, viewed his fallen foe as a brother, and hast-

ened to assist him, even at the hazard of his own life. The gallantry of the British soldiers, and no people could have displayed greater, had brought many of them even to our ramparts, where, shot down by our troops, they were lying badly wounded. When the firing had ceased, and the columns had retired, our troops, with generous benevolence, advanced over their lines to assist and bring in the wounded who lay under and near the walls; when, strange to tell, the enemy from the ditch they occupied opened a fire upon them, and, though at a considerable distance, succeeded in wounding several. It was enough for our generous soldiers, that they were doing an act which the benevolence of their hearts approved; and with charitable perseverance they continued to administer to the wants of these suffering men, and to carry them within their lines, although in their efforts they were continually exposed to danger. Let the apologist for crime say wherefore were acts, thus unpardonable, committed against men who were administering to the wants and relieving the sufferings of the dying countrymen of those who thus repaid the most laudable humanity with wanton and useless cruelty.

A communication shortly after from Major-general Lambert, on whom, in consequence of the fall of Generals Packenham, Gibbs, and Keane, the command had devolved, acknowledges to have witnessed the kindness of our troops to his wounded. He solicited of General Jackson permission to send an unarmed party to bury the dead lying before his lines, and to bring off such as were dangerously wounded. Though in all probability it was unknown to General Lambert what had been the conduct of his troops on this occasion, and unquestionably not authorized by him, yet Jackson, in answer to his despatch, did not omit to bring it to his view, and to express his utter abhorrence of the act. The request to bury the dead was granted. General Jackson, however, refused to permit a near approach to his line, but consented that the wounded who were at a greater distance than three hundred yards from the intrenchment should be relieved, and the dead buried: those nearer, were by his own men to be delivered over, to be interred by their countrymen. This precaution

was taken, that the enemy might not have an opportunity to inspect, or know any thing of his situation.

General Lambert, desirous of administering to the relief of the wounded, and that he might be relieved from his apprehensions of attack, proposed, about noon, that hostilities should cease until the same hour the next day. General Jackson, cherishing the hope of being able to secure an important advantage by apparent willingness to accede to the proposal, drew up an armistice and forwarded it to General Lambert, with directions for it to be immediately returned, if approved. It contained a stipulation to this effect: that hostilities on the left bank of the river should be discontinued from its ratification, but on the right bank they should not cease; and, in the interim, that under no circumstances were reinforcements to be sent across by either party. This was a bold stroke at stratagem; and although it succeded even to the extent desired, was yet attended with considerable hazard. Reinforcements had been ordered over to retake the position lost by Morgan in the morning, and the General presumed they had arrived at their point of destination; but at this time they had not passed the river, nor could it be expected to be retaken with the same troops who had yielded it the day before, when possessed of advantages which gave them a decided superiority; this the commanding General well knew; yet, to spare the sacrifice of his men, which, in regaining, it he foresaw must be considerable, he was disposed to venture upon a course which, he felt assured, could not fail to succeed. It was impossible his object could be discovered: while he confidently believed the British commander would infer, from the prompt and ready manner in which his proposal had been met, that such additional troops were already thrown over as would be fully adequate to the purposes of attack, and greatly to endanger, if not wholly to cut off, Colonel Thornton's retreat. General Lambert's construction was such as had been anticipated. Although the armistice contained a request that it should be immediately signed and returned, it was neglected to be acted upon until the next day; and Thornton and his command were, in the interim, under cover of the night, recrossed, and

the ground they occupied left to be peaceably possessed by the original holders. The opportunity thus afforded of regaining a position on which, in a great degree, depended the safety of those on the opposite shore, was accepted with an avidity its importance merited, and immediate measures taken to increase its strength, and prepare it against any future attack that might be made. This delay of the British commander was evidently designed, that, pending the negotiation, and before it was concluded, an opportunity might be had either of throwing over reinforcements, or removing Colonel Thornton and his troops from a situation so extremely perilous. Early next morning, General Lambert returned his acceptance of what had been proposed, with an apology for having failed to reply sooner: he excused the ommission by pleading a press of business, which had occasioned the communication to be overlooked and neglected. Jackson was at no loss to attribute the delay to the correct motive; the apology, however, was as perfectly satisfactory to him as any thing that could have been offered; beyond the object intended to be effected he felt unconcerned, and having secured this, he rested perfectly satisfied. It cannot, however, appear otherwise than extraordinary, that this neglect should have been ascribed by the British general to accident, or a press of business, when it must have been, no doubt, of greater importance at that moment than any thing which he could possibly have had before him.

The armistice was this morning (9th of January) concluded, and agreed to continue until two o'clock in the evening. The dead and wounded were now removed from the field, which for three hundred yards in front of our line of defense, they almost literally covered. For the reason already suggested, our soldiers, within the line of demarcation between the two camps, delivered over to the British, who were not permitted to cross it, the dead for burial, and the wounded on parole, for which it was stipulated an equal number of American prisoners should be restored.

It has seldom happened that officers were more deceived in their expectations, than they were in the result of this battle, or atoned more severely for their error: their reasoning had never led them to conclude that militia would maintain their

ground when warmly assailed; no other belief was entertained than, alarmed at the appearance and orderly firm approach of veteran troops, they would at once forsake the contest, and seek safety in flight. At what part of our line they were stationed, was ascertained by information derived through a deserter on the 6th; and, influenced by a belief of their want of nerve and deficiency in bravery, at this point the main assault was urged. They were indeed militia; but the enemy could have assailed no part of our intrenchment where they would have met a warmer reception, or where they would have found greater strength; it was, indeed, the best defended part of the line. The Kentucky and Tennessee troops, under Generals Carroll, Thomas, and Adair, were here, who had already, on former occasions, won a reputation that was too dear to be sacrificed. These divisions, alternately charging their pieces and mounting the platform, poured forth a constant fire, that was impossible to be withstood, repelled the advancing columns, and drove them from the field with prodigious slaughter.

There is one fact told, to which general credit seems to be attached, and which clearly shows the opinion had by the British of our militia, and the little fear which was entertained of any determined opposition from them. When repulsed from our line, the British officers were fully persuaded, that the information given them by the deserter on the night of the 6th was false, and that instead of pointing out the ground defended by the militia, he had referred them to the place occupied by our best troops. Enraged at what they believed an intentional deception, they called their informant before them to account for the mischief he had done. It was in vain he urged his innocence, and, with the most selemn protestations, declared he had stated the fact truly as it was. They could not be convinced—it was impossible that they had contended against any but the best disciplined troops; and without further ceremony, the poor fellow, suspended in view of the camp, expiated on a tree, not his crime, for what he had stated was true, but their error in underrating an enemy, who had already afforded abundant evidences of valor. In all their future trials with our countrymen, may they be no less deceived, and discover in our yeomanry a determination to sustain

with firmness a government which knows nothing of oppression; but which, on an enlarged and liberal scale, aims to secure the independence and happiness of man. If the people of the United States—free almost as the air they breathe—shall at any time omit to maintain their privileges and their government, then, indeed, will it be idle longer to speak of the rights of men, or of their capacity to govern themselves: the dream of liberty must fade away and perish for ever, no more to be remembered.

After the battle of the 8th of January, Jackson could have captured every man of the British force that was upon the land, if he had been supplied with arms, according to his own repeated, urgent requests, and agreeably to the promises that were made him. Not having arms, he was compelled to let the remainder of the "heroes of the Peninsula" escape. They got to the other side of the river, and there they embarked, leaving behind them the contempt of the faithful Americans, and the sympathetic sorrows of the traitors. Now, however, these traitors sang his praises in lofty strains; put up thanksgiving in their churches, called him "an instrument in the hands of God;" though a few days before they would have sold him and his army, flesh and blood. He submitted to the mummery of being fined for having imprisoned the judge, which he did in order to give an example of submission to the laws. He found it necessary to remain at New-Orleans till March, when he dismissed his troops in the following address, which should be read, preserved, and cherished in all countries:

ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS OF NEW-ORLEANS AFTER THE ANNUNCIATION OF PEACE.

The Major-general is at length enabled to perform the pleasing task of restoring to Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the territory of the Mississippi, the brave troops who have acted such a distinguished part in the war which has just terminated. In restoring these brave men to their homes, much exertion is expected of, and great responsibility imposed on, the commanding officers of the different corps. It is required

of Major-generals Carroll and Thomas, and Brigadier-general Coffee, to march their commands, without unnecessary delay, to their respective states. The troops from the Mississippi territory and state of Louisiana, both militia and volunteers, will be immediately mustered out of service, paid, and discharged.

The Major-general has the satisfaction of announcing the approbation of the President of the United States to the conduct of the troops under his command, expressed in flattering terms, through the honorable the Secretary of War.

In parting with those brave men, whose destinies have been so long united with his own, and in whose labors and glories it is his happiness and his boast to have participated, the commanding general can neither suppress his feelings, nor give utterance to them as he ought. In what terms can he bestow suitable praise on merit so extraordinary, so unparalleled? Let him, in one burst of joy, gratitude, and exultation, exclaim—"These are the saviors of their country—these the patriot soldiers, who triumphed over the invincibles of Wellington, and conquered the conquerors of Europe!" With what patience did you submit to privations—with what fortitude did you endure fatigue—what valor did you display in the day of battle! You have secured to America a proud name among the nations of the earth—a glory which will never perish.

Possessing those dispositions which equally adorn the citizen and the soldier, the expectations of your country will be met in peace, as her wishes have been gratified in war. Go, then, my brave companions, to your homes; to those tender connexions, and blissful scenes, which render life so dear—full of honor, and crowned with laurels which will never fade. When participating in the bosoms of your families the enjoyment of peaceful life, with what happiness will you not look back to the toils you have borne—to the dangers you have encountered? How will all your past exposures be converted into sources of inexpressible delight! Who, that never experienced your sufferings, will be able to appreciate your joys? The man who slumbered ingloriously at home, during your painful marches, your nights of watchfulness, and your days

of toil, will envy you the happiness which these recollections will afford—still more will he envy the gratitude of that country, which you have so eminently contributed to save.

Continue, fellow-soldiers, on your passage to your several destinations, to preserve that subordination, that dignified and manly deportment, which have so ennobled your character.

While the commanding general is thus giving indulgence to his feelings towards those brave companions who accompanied him through difficulties and danger, he cannot permit the names of Blount, and Shelby, and Holmes, to pass unnoticed. With what generous ardor and patriotism have these distinguished governors contributed all their exertions to provide the means of victory! The recollection of their exertions, and of the success which has resulted, will be to them a reward more grateful than any which the pomp of title or the splendor of wealth can bestow.

What happiness it is to the commanding general, that, while danger was before him, he was, on no occasion, compelled to use towards his companions in arms either severity or rebuke! If, after the enemy had retired, improper passions began their empire in a few unworthy bosoms, and rendered a resort to energetic measures necessary for their suppression, he has not confounded the innocent with the guilty—the seduced with the seducers. Towards you, fellow-soldiers, the most cheering recollections exist; blended, alas! with regret, that disease and war should have ravished from us so many worthy companions. But the memory of the cause in which they perished, and of the virtues which animated them while living, must occupy the place where sorrow would claim to dwell.

Farewell, fellow-soldiers. The expression of your general's thanks is feeble, but the gratitude of a country of freemen is yours—yours the applause of an admiring world.

ANDREW JACKSON,
Major-General commanding.

The following bulletin published in the London Gazette, of the 8th March, 1815, may not be uninteresting; showing, as t does, the way in which the Government of England, glossed over their loss and disgrace at New-Orleans:

BULLETIN.

"War Departement, March 8, 1815.

"Captain Wylly arrived this morning with despatches from Major-general Lambert, detailing the operations against the enemy in the neighborhood of New-Orleans. It appears that the army, under the command of Major-general Keane, was landed at the head of the Bayonne, in the vicinity of New-Orleans, on the morning of the 23d December, without opposition; it was, however, attacked by the enemy in the course of the night succeeding the landing, when, after an obstinate contest, the enemy were repulsed at all points with considerable loss. On the morning of the 25th, Sir E. Packenham arrived, and assumed the command of the army. On the 27th, at daylight, the troops moved forward, driving the enemy's pickets to within six miles of the town, when the main body of the enemy was discovered, posted behind a breastwork, extending about one thousand yards, with the right resting on the Mississippi, and the left on a thick wood. The interval between the 27th December and the 8th January was employed in preparations for an attack upon the enemy's position. The attack which was intended to have been made on the night of the 7th, did not, owing to the difficulties experienced in the passage of the Mississippi, by a corps under Lieutenant-colonel Thornton, which was destined to act on the right bank of the river, take place till early on the morning of the 8th. The division to whom the storming of the enemy's work was intrusted, moved to the attack at that time, but being too soon discovered by the enemy, were received with a galling and severe fire from all parts of their line. Major-general Sir Edward Packenham, who had placed himself at the head of the troops, was unfortunately killed at the head of the glacis, and Major-generals Gibbs and Keane were nearly at the same moment wounded. The effect of this upon the troops caused a hesitation in their advance, and though order was restored by the advance of the reserve under Major-general Lambert, to whom the command of the army had devolved, and Colonel Thornton had succeeded in the operation assigned

to him on the right bank of the river; yet the Major-general, upon the consideration of the difficulties which yet remained to be surmounted, did not think himself justified in ordering a renewal of the attack. The troops, therefore, retired to the position which they had occupied previous to the attack. In that position they remained until the evening of the 18th, when, the whole of the wounded, with the exception of eighty (whom it was considered dangerous to remove,) the field artillery, and all the stores of every description, having been embarked, the army retired to the head of the Bayonne, where the landing had been originally effected, and re-emarked without molestation."

[Such was the official announcement of this important battle. Buonaparte soon after returned from Elba; the battle of Waterloo followed, and New-Orleans was in a measure forgotten by the British People—but not by the Government.]

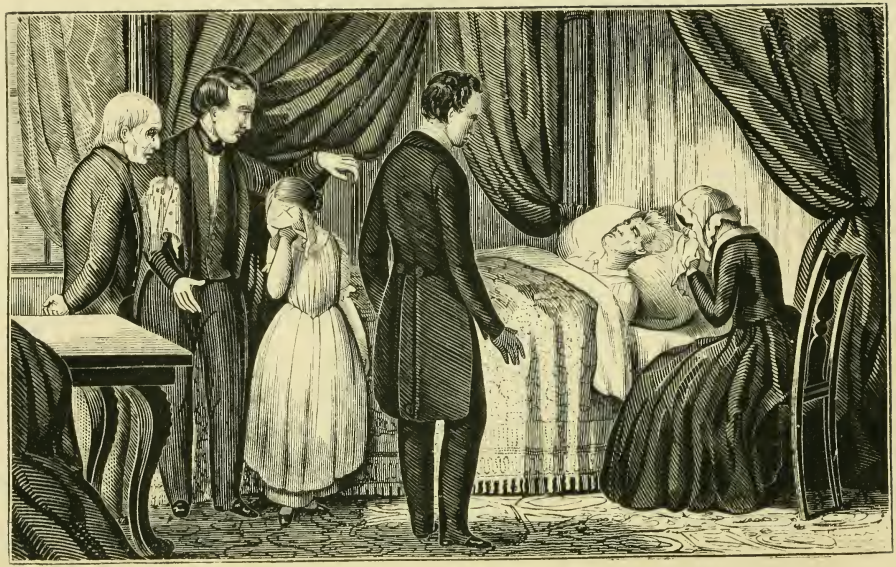
After this battle, the command being committed to General Gaines, Jackson returned to his farm, where he remained until the end of 1817, when he was directed to proceed against the Seminole Indians, who, emerging from the Spanish territory, had committed repeated massacres of the Americans on the frontiers. At the head of the Tennessee volunteers, who were afterward joined by the Georgia militia, he penetrated into Florida, destroyed the retreats of the skulking savages and fugitive slaves who had banded with them, and burned their villages. Two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, were arrested by his order, charged with exciting and leading on the insurgents. They were tried by a court of thirteen officers, found guilty, and in pursuance of their sentence, the former was hung and the other shot. After placing a garrison in St. Marks, the General was about returning to Tennessee, when he learned that the dispersed bands were combining west of the Appalachicola, under the countenance and protection of the governor of Pensacola. During the month of May, he, with a force of twelve hundred, ranged the suspected district, and marched into Pensacola, of which he took possession; the governor flying to fort Barrancas, which was also yielded on the 28th. Two detachments were then sent to clear the country of the fugitives, which being accomplished,

Jackson returned home in June, 1818. The House of Representatives, in the next session of Congress, justified his course in taking temporary possession of the Spanish fortresses, and in executing the two British ringleaders. Soon after these events he visited the northern cities, where he was enthusiastically received with public and private honors.

When the Floridas were ceded by Spain to the United States, the President appointed General Jackson a commissioner to receive the cession, and act as Governor of the territory. This important annexation was officially announced by him at Pensacola in July, 1821, when he commenced his administration. Having organized his new government, he resigned his office, and returned to his farm in Tennessee.

In the month of August, 1822, the legislature of Tennessee nominated General Jackson as the successor of Mr. Monroe in the presidency of the United States; the proposition was favorably received in many parts of the Union. He declined an appointment as Minister to Mexico, and in 1823 was elected to the Senate of the United States; but having now become a prominent candidate for the Chief Magistracy, he resigned his seat in the second session. The result of the popular elections of 1824, for President, gave General Jackson a plurality, but not a majority of votes: Jackson had ninety-nine, Adams eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. The House of Representatives was required, by the constitutional provision, to make a selection from the three who received the greatest number of votes, and the suffrages of the States gave the majority to Mr. Adams. General Jackson was at once nominated to succeed Mr. Adams at the close of his term; and the elections of the colleges were reported to Congress on February 11, 1829, as giving to General Jackson, one hundred and seventy-eight votes, and to Mr. Adams, his only competitor, eighty-three. At the end of his first term of office, he was re-elected to a second, by an increased majority of the electoral votes: there being four candidates in the field, Jackson received two hundred and nineteen votes, Clay forty-nine, Floyd eleven, Wirt seven.

On the expiration of his second term, General Jackson retired to his farm, near Nashville, and there resided till his



DEATH OF JACKSON.

death, which occurred at 6 o'clock in the evening of Sunday, June 8, 1845, in the 78th year of his age. Much of the time during his retirement he suffered greatly from a disease in the left lobe of his lungs, which he bore with characteristic firmness and resignation. The public had been led to expect his death for many weeks; the venerable patriot himself, in the last letter he ever wrote, had said—"I am dying daily. I feel that I can no longer be of service to my country, to my friends, or myself; and I am ready and willing to appear in the presence of my Maker." On the morning of Sunday the 8th, the General had swooned, and for a time was supposed to be dead; but he soon after revived, and lived till evening. A short time before his death, he took an affectionate leave of his friends and domestics, retaining to the last his senses and intellect unclouded. He expired with the utmost calmness, expressing the highest confidence in a happy immortality, through the Redeemer. The simple announcement of this melancholy, though long expected event, excited the deepest emotions in the hearts of the American people.

The memory of JACKSON belongs to his country. His name will go down to posterity as the HERO OF NEW-ORLEANS, whose military ability covered with glory our citizen soldiers; and his Presidential career will afford to the future historian and the political economist, many important incidents and lessons of wisdom.

Weep, Columbia, weep!
Breathe once again the note
Of sorrow, stern and deep,
Wide o'er the land to float,—
He rests—the Hero-Sage
His earthly toils are o'er,
And History's golden page
Shall wait for him no more.

'Tis closed—his book of life
Is full—his race is run;
With fame and honor rife—
His work forever done.

But while in sadness here,
We heave an earth-born sigh—
He lives, where not a tear
Shall flow—no more to die.

He lives mid spirits free,
Who toil'd with him in life—
That God and Liberty
Crowned in that holy strife,—
For them a nation wept
At Freedom's sacred shrine;
In glory they too slept,
Where he, with them, will shine.

Yet shall the Patriot's name
Be cherished by the free—
In every soil his fame
Shall dwell with Liberty;
But vainly o'er his grave
A sorrowing nation weeps,
Her banners drooping wave—
For aye, the Hero sleeps.

Her booming guns may roar,
The clang of armor come,
Her eagle proudly soar
Up toward his spirit-home,—
His country long may weep
His glorious setting sun,
It will not break his sleep—
His deeds of might are done.

CHAPTER VI.

ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JACKSON.

His youthful heroism, manifested in an attack upon the Waxhaw settlement during the Revolution, and when but a boy of fourteen years of age.

THEN, boys big enough to carry muskets incurred the dangers of men. Robert and Andrew Jackson had their horses and their guns, and, like their kindred and neighbors, were almost constantly with some armed party. Men could not, unguarded, sleep in their own houses without danger of surprise and murder. It was on such an occasion that Andrew Jackson gave the first illustration of that quickness of thought and promptitude of action which have sinced placed him among the first military commanders. A Whig captain, named Lands, desired to spend a night with his family. Robert and Andrew Jackson, with one of the Crawford's, and five others, constituted his guard. There were nine men and seven muskets. Having no special apprehensions of an attack, they laid down on their arms, and, with the exception of a British deserter, who was one of the party, went to sleep. Lands' house was in the centre of an enclosed yard, and had two doors, facing east and west. Before the east door stood a forked apple-tree. In the southwest corner of the yard were a corncrib and stable under one roof, ranging east and west. On the south was a wood, and through it passed the road by which the house was approached.

A party of Tories became apprised of Lands' return, and determined to surprise and kill him. Approaching through the wood, and tying their horses behind the stable, they divided into two parties, one advancing round the east end of the

stable towards the east door of the house, and the other round the west end towards the west door. At this moment, the wakeful soldier, hearing a noise in the direction of the stable, went out to see what was the matter, and perceived the party which were entering the yard at the east end of the building Running back in terror, he seized Andrew Jackson, who was nearest the door, by the hair, exclaiming, "The Tories are upon us." Our young hero ran out, and, putting his gun through the fork of the apple-tree, hailed the approaching band. Having repeated his hail without an answer, and perceiving the party rapidly advancing and but a few rods distant, he fired. A volley was returned, which killed the soldier, who, having aroused the inmates of the house, had followed young Jackson, and was standing near him. The other band of Tories had now emerged from the west end of the stable, and mistaking the discharge of the advance party, then nearly on a line between them and the apple-tree, for the fire of a sallying party from the house, commenced a sharp fire upon their own friends. Thus both parties were brought to a stand. Young Andrew, after discharging his gun, returned into the house; and, with two others, commenced a fire from the west door, where both of his companions were shot down, one of them with a mortal wound. The Tories still kept up the fire on each other as well as on the house, until, startled by the sound of a cavalry charge in the distance, they betook themselves to their horses and fled. The charge was sounded by Major Isbel, of the neighborhood, who had not a man with him; but hearing the firing, and knowing that Lands was attacked, gave the blast upon his trumpet to alarm the assailants. Jackson was then scarcely fourteen years old.

FIRST TAKEN PRISONER—HIS TREATMENT.

Lord Rawdon, whose headquarters were at Camden, had been left by Cornwallis in command of the British force in South Carolina. Being informed of the Waxhaw settlers' return, he despatched Major Coffin, with a corps of light dragoons, a company of regular infantry, and a band of Tories, to capture or destroy them. At once the settlers resolv-

ed to imbody and fight. The Waxhaw Meeting-house was designated as the point of rendezvous. The British Major received intelligence of the time and place, and determined, by a rapid march, to fall upon them before they could organize. On the day appointed, about forty, including Robert and Andrew Jackson, had collected, and were waiting for a friendly company, under Captain Nesbit. They saw, as they thought, the expected reinforcement approaching, and were not undeceived until a party of British dragoons rushed in among them. Putting his tories in front, whose dress was that of the country, the British officer kept his dragoons out of sight until so near as to leave no time for the militia to recover from the surprise which their appearance produced. Eleven of the little band were taken, and the rest, mounting their horses, dispersed and fled. Andrew Jackson was accompanied in his flight by Lieutenant Thomas Crawford, and they soon found themselves pursued. Crossing a wet savanna, the horse of Crawford mired and fell. Young Jackson reached dry land in safety, but instantly reined up, with the view of aiding, if he could, his unfortunate companion. He saw him, under a black jack, maintaining a hopeless contest with his sword. Receiving a severe wound in the head, he soon surrendered to a British officer, upon a promise of quarter. Young Jackson continued his flight, and eluded pursuit Falling in with his brother, they remained together during the next night, and on the approach of morning concealed themselves in a thicket on the banks of a small creek, not far from the house of Lieutenant Crawford. Being within an enclosure where there was no path, they considered themselves entirely secure. Becoming very hungry, they concluded to leave their horses and guns, and venture out to Mr. Crawford's in quest of food. Emerging carefully from the thicket, and seeing no signs of an enemy, they approached the house, and setting a boy to watch the road by which only danger was apprehended, they entered and made their wants known to Mrs. Crawford. In the mean time, a party of dragoons and Tories had traced out their retreat, seized their horses and guns, and, guided through the enclosure by a noted Tory, named Johnson, presented themselves at the door before the

young Jacksons were aware of their approach. Resistance and flight were alike hopeless, and neither was attempted.

Mr. Crawford was wounded and a prisoner. Mrs. Crawford, with several children, one of whom was at the breast, were the inmates of the house. A scene of destruction immediately ensued. All the glass, crockery, and other furniture, were dashed in pieces. The beds were ripped open, and the feathers scattered to the winds. The clothing of the whole family, men, women, and children, was cut and torn into fragments. Even the children's clothes shared the fate of the rest. Mercy for the wife and little ones of a husband and father who was already a wounded prisoner in their hands, and doomed to imprisonment, if not death, touched not the hearts of these remorseless men, and nothing was left to the terrified and wretched family but the clothes they had on and a desolate habitation. No attempt was made by the British officer commanding, to arrest this destruction. While it was in progress, he ordered Andrew Jackson to clean his muddy boots. The young soldier refused, claiming to be treated with the respect due to a prisoner of war. Instead of admiring this manly spirit in one so young, the cowardly ruffian struck at his head with his sword; but, throwing up his left hand, the intended victim received a gash upon it, the scar of which he carried to the grave. Turning to Robert Jackson, the officer ordered him to perform the menial task, and, receiving a like refusal, aimed a furious blow at his head also, and inflicted a wound from which he never recovered.

After these exhibitions of ferocity, the party set Andrew Jackson upon a horse, and ordered him, on pain of instant death, to lead them to the house of a well-known Whig, by the name of Thompson. Apprehending that Thompson was at home, it occurred to his young friend that he might save him by a stratagem. At that time, when men were at home, they generally kept a look-out to avoid surprise, and had a horse ready for flight. Instead of leading the party by the usual route, young Andrew took them through woods and fields, which brought them over an eminence in sight of the house at the distance of half a mile. Arriving at the summit, he beheld Thompson's horse tied to his rack, a sure sign that

his owner was at home. The British dragoons darted forward, and, in breathless apprehension, Andrew Jackson kept his eye upon Thompson's house. With inexpressible joy, he saw Thompson, while the dragoons were still a few hundred yards distant, rush out, mount his horse, dash into the creek, which, swollen by recent rains, ran foaming by, and in a minute ascend the opposite bank. He was then out of pistol-shot, and the dragoons not daring to swim the rapid stream, he stopped long enough to shout execration and defiance, and then rode leisurely off.

Andrew Jackson and his brother, with about twenty other prisoners, were then mounted on captured horses, and started for Camden, over forty miles distant. Not a mouthful of food or drop of drink was given them on the way. Fording streams deep from recent rains, when they stooped to take up a little water in the palms of their hands to assuage their burning thirst, they were ordered to desist by their brutal guard.

Arrived at Camden, they were, with about two hundred and fifty other prisoners, confined in a redoubt surrounding the jail, and overlooking the country to the north. No attention was paid to their wounds or their wants. They had no beds, nor any substitute; and their only food was a scanty supply of bad bread. They were robbed of a portion of their clothing, taunted by Tories with being rebels, and assured they would be hanged. Andrew Jackson himself was stripped of his jacket and shoes. With a refinement of cruelty, the Jacksons and their cousin, Thomas Crawford, two of them severely wounded, were separated as soon as their relationship was known, and kept in perfect ignorance of each other's condition or fate. In aggravation of their sufferings, the small-pox made its appearance among them. Not a step was taken to stay its progress or mitigate its inflictions. Without physicians or nurses, denied even the kind attentions and sympathy of relatives who were fellow-prisoners, their keepers left them to perish, not only without compassion, but with apparent satisfaction. The apprehensions of the sound, the sufferings of the sick, the groans of the dying, and the presence of the

dead, formed a combination of horrors which imagination cannot exaggerate.

One day Andrew Jackson was sunning himself in the entrance of his prison, when the officer of the guard, apparently struck with his youthful appearance, entered into conversation with him. With characteristic energy, the fearless lad described to him the condition of the prisoners; and among the rest, their sufferings from the scantiness and bad quality of their food. Immediately meat was added to their bread, and there was otherwise a decided improvement. The Provost was a Tory from New-York; and it was afterward alleged that he withheld the meat he had contracted to supply for the support of the prisoners, to feed a gang of negroes, which he had collected from the plantations of the Whigs, with intent to convert them to his own use.

HIS PRESENCE OF MIND.

In 1789 he first visited the infant settlements on the Cumberland River, including that at French Creek, near the present site of Nashville. Nearly all the settlers were then residing in stations, and it was several years before it was entirely safe for them to spread over the country and live in separate cabins. While the Shawanese from the north were carrying on perpetual war with the settlers in Kentucky, the Cherokees and Chocktaws from the south were wreaking their vengeance on the intruders upon their hunting-grounds in Tennessee. Twenty-two times during this period of danger and blood did Gen. Jackson, in the performance of his public and private duties, cross the wilderness of two hundred miles, then intervening between Jonesborough and the settlements on the Cumberland. The hardships and perils of those journeys it is difficult for travelers in steamboats, railroad cars, or even stages, duly to appreciate. In addition to his rider, with a loaded rifle on his shoulder, the patient horse carried upon his back his master's blankets, provisions, and equipments. His food was the foliage of the bushes and the native grass. At a fire kindled from a tinder-box, or the flash of his rifle, the traveler

roasted his bacon or wild meat on a stick, and cut it with his hunter's knife, while his fingers performed the functions of forks. Wrapped in his blanket, with his rifle for a bed-fellow, and his horse standing by, he slept, with no roof to protect him but the boughs of the forest. Without a water-proof hat or India-rubber coat, he was drenched to the skin by the falling rain. Often with a craving appetite and a delicious pheasant or plump deer before him, he dared not kill it, lest the report of his rifle should give notice of his presence to a lurking savage foe.

Once, when General Jackson was traversing the wilderness alone, he came, after night and amid torrents of rain, to a creek, the voice of whose tumbling waters, already swollen to a flood, warned him not to enter upon its darkling ford. Dismounting from his horse, and turning his saddle bottom upward at the root of a tree, he wrapped his blanket around him, and with his rifle in one hand and his bridle in the other, sat upon it, with his horse standing before him, listening to the roaring stream and the pattering of raindrops upon the leaves of the forest, until the return of day enabled him to proceed.

On another occasion, when, with three companions, he was on his way from Jonesborough to the Cumberland, arriving just after dark at the east side of the Emory, where it issues from the mountains, they discovered the fires of a large party of hostile Indians on the opposite bank. The moment the discovery was made, Andrew Jackson, as if by instinct, assumed the direction of the party. He enjoined silence and instant retreat, and having retired some distance into the mountains, directed his companions to quit the road cautiously and at different points, so as to leave no distinct trace behind them, and, reuniting, proceed up the stream, for the purpose of crossing at some ford above and eluding the Indians. Guided by the noise of the waters, they progressed upward among the mountains during the night, and, as soon as it was day, approached the stream. They found it too much swollen to be forded, and too rapid to be swam. Still apprehensive of pursuit, they resumed their march, and about two o'clock in the afternoon reached a place where the stream, after pitching over a rough precipice, spread out with a lake-like surface,

broken at a short distance below by another cataract. Here the party, not feeling safe until their trail was broken by the intervening stream, determined to attempt a passage. Binding logs and bushes together with hickory withes, they soon constructed a small raft sufficient to convey three or four men, fixing two rude oars to the bows, and one as a steering-oar or rudder to the stern. It was cold, March weather, and very important to keep their clothes, blankets, and saddles, as well as their rifles and powder, from getting wet. To that end, it was concluded that Jackson and one of his companions should first cross with everything but the horses, and on a second trip swim them over alongside of the raft. Freighted accordingly, they pushed off from shore; but in an instant an irresistible under-current seized the rude flotilla, and hurled it down the stream. For a few moments Jackson, who was at the oars, regardless of the shouts of his companions, who followed him downward on the bank, struggled with the flood; but, perceiving that farther effort could only end in destruction he reversed the direction of his sluggish craft, in the hope of reaching the shore he had left. Putting forth all his strength, he was unable to bring it to land; and although within a few feet, the suck of the cataract had already seized it. A moment more, and the raft, with its passengers, would have been dashed in pieces, when Jackson, wrenching one of his oars from its fastenings, sprung to the stern, and bracing himself there, held it out to his companions on shore, who seized it, and brought them safe to land. Reproached by them for not heeding their first warnings, Jackson coolly replied, "A miss is as good as a mile: you see how near I can graze danger. Come on, and I will save you yet." Re-equipping themselves and horses, they resumed their march up the stream; and after spending another night, supperless, in the woods, found a ford the next day, and, by a circuitous route, reached a log cabin on the road about forty miles in the rear of the Indian encampment.

On another occasion, he reached the rendezvous of a party at Bean's Station with which he was to cross the wilderness, the evening after they had left. Determined to overtake them, he employed a guide well acquainted with Indian signs and

stratagems, and traveled all night. Just before day, they came to the fires where the party had encamped the first part of the night. Following on, they soon discovered by the tracks in the road that a party of Indians, about twenty-two in number, was in pursuit of their friends ahead. They nevertheless followed on until so near the Indians that the water which the weight of their tread had pressed out of the rotten logs was not yet dry. The guide now refused to proceed; but Jackson resolved to save his friends, or, at least, hazard his life in the attempt. Dividing provisions, he and his guide proceeded in opposite directions, Jackson cautiously advancing, and watching the tracks of the Indians. At length he saw where they had turned off to the right, probably for the purpose of getting ahead of the party, and attacking them from ambush, or falling upon them in the night. With increased speed, he hastened forward, and overtook his friends just before dark. Having crossed a stream which was very deep and partly frozen over, they had halted and kindled fires, at which they were drying their clothes and baggage. Warned of their danger, they immediately resumed their march, and continued it without intermission during the whole night and the next day. The sky was overcast with clouds, and in the evening it began to snow. Arriving at the log cabins of a party of hunters, they asked protection therein from the storm, and rest for the night, which, with a churlishness not usual among these men of the woods, was rudely refused. Not having closed his eyes for two nights, Jackson wrapped himself in his blankets, and laid down upon the ground, where he slept soundly, and in the morning found himself covered with six inches of snow. The party resumed their march, and reached their destination in safety; but they afterward learned that the hunters who had refused them the hospitality of their cabins, were murdered by the Indians.

HIS MARRIAGE.

Miss Rachel Donelson, the daughter of Colonel Donelson, of Virginia, had been celebrated for her gayety, affability and sweetness of disposition. Her father emigrated to Tennessee,

and, dying, left her an orphan. She formed an unhappy matrimonial connection with a morose, jealous, and dissipated character by the name of Roberts, who soon abandoned her.

The difficulty was made up, and the wedded pair came together again; soon after which Andrew Jackson became a transient boarder in the same house where Roberts and his wife were residing. A second rupture soon occurred, and Roberts left his wife and went to Kentucky. Learning that he intended returning and taking her there, and dreading his inhumanity and bad treatment, she determined to seek an asylum in Natchez, beyond his reach. Natchez was then the Oregon of America. In the spring of 1791, she came here with Colonel Starke and his family. At the earnest request of Colonel Starke, General Jackson piloted his family through the Indian country. After his return, Judge Overton communicated to him the astounding intelligence that he was the unconscious cause of the last separation; that it arose from Roberts' jealousy of him; and the circumstance of his accompanying Colonel Starke to protect his family from the Indians, had been seized upon by Roberts as a ground of divorce, in a petition to the Virginia Legislature.

The thought that an innocent woman was suffering so unjustly on his account, made General Jackson's sensitive mind most uneasy and unhappy. He immediately sought out Roberts and expostulated with him on the injustice and cruelty of his causeless suspicion; but the interview ended in mutual defiances. At length news came that the Virginia Legislature had actually granted the divorce in accordance with Roberts' petition. Forthwith Andrew Jackson hastened to Natchez, and offered his hand and his heart to the innocent and amiable woman, who had been made so unhappy by false and unfounded accusations. He came to Natchez, to give the world the highest evidence he could give of her innocence.

Although free to form a new connexion, Mrs. Roberts declined the proffered offer. But Andrew Jackson was not to be outdone. He addressed her in the language of Ruth to Naomi: "Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee, for where thou goest I will go, where thou lodgest I will lodge, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my

God; where thou diest I will die, and there will I be buried." A promise which he literally fulfilled in refusing the sarcophagus of the Emperor Alexander Serverus, that he might be buried by her. At length, after some three months, Mrs. Roberts, being convinced that the chivalry which prompted the proposal, had become associated with genuine love, accepted the offer, and they were married in this city or vicinity, and returned to Tennessee. On arriving there, finding that the divorce had not gone through all the forms required by the laws of Virginia, at the time of their marriage here, the ceremony was again performed there.

IS SET UPON BY BULLIES.

In the state of society existing in Tennessee in his younger days, there was a grade of men who prided themselves on their courage and prowess as mere bullies, and were always ready, like the brute beast, to decide the question of superiority by a fight. Equals in standing who hated, but dare not encounter the fearless Jackson, stimulated this class of men to attack, in the hope of degrading, if they could not destroy him. The first man set upon him, with scarcely a pretence of provocation, was a flax-breaker of great strength and courage, whom he soon reduced to submission with his own winding-blades, the only weapon within his reach. His next encounter was at a court in Sumner county, with a noted bully whom he did not know. While he was conversing with a gentleman on business, the bully approached, and without saying a word, placed his heels on Jackson's feet. Pushing him off, Jackson seized a slab, and with a forward thrust upon the breast, brought him to the ground. The interference of the crowd put an end to the conflict; but the baffled bully, snatching a stake from the fence, again approached with direful imprecations. At the earnest entreaty of Jackson, the crowd retired from between them. Poising his slab, he then advanced with firm step and steady eye upon his antagonist, who dropped his stake at his approach, jumped the fence, and ran into the woods.

ARREST OF A CRIMINAL.

Soon after his resignation as Senator, the Legislature of Tennessee conferred upon him, unsolicited, the appointment of Judge of the Supreme Court of Law and Equity.

He was then thirty years old. His first court was held at Jonesborough, where an incident occurred illustrative alike of the rudeness of the times and the firmness of the new judge.

A man named Russell Bean was indicted for cutting off the ears of his infant child in a drunken frolic. He was in the courtyard; but such was his strength and ferocity, that the sheriff, not daring to approach him, made a return to the court that "Russell Bean will not be taken." Judge Jackson, with his peculiar emphasis, said that such a return was an absurdity, and could not be received. "He must be taken," said the Judge, "and, if necessary, you must summon the *posse commitatus*." The mortified sheriff retired, and waiting until the court adjourned for dinner, summoned the judges themselves, as part of the *posse*. Conceiving that the object of the sheriff was to avoid a dangerous service under cover of the judges' refusal to obey the summons, Judge Jackson instantly replied, "Yes, sir, I will attend you, and see that you do *your* duty." Learning that Bean was armed, he requested a loaded pistol, which was put into his hand. He then said to the sheriff, "Advance and arrest him; I will protect you from harm." Bean, armed with a dirk and brace of pistols, assumed an attitude of defiance and desperation. But when the judge drew near, he began to retreat. "Stop and submit to the law," cried the judge. The culprit stopped, threw down his pistols, and replied, "I will surrender to you, sir, but to no one else."

DIFFICULTY WITH GOVERNOR SEVIER.

Fidelity to his friends has been, at every period of General Jackson's life, one of his most striking characteristics. A misunderstanding arose between Jackson and his friend Judge M'Nairy, growing out of the agency of the latter in causing the Removal of General Robertson, who had been the father of the State of Tennessee, from the office of agent for the

Chickasaw Indians. One of the consequences of that removal was, that a Mr. Searcy, who had emigrated to the country with them, and continued their steadfast friend, lost his office as clerk to the agency, on which he depended for support. Not perceiving any public reasons requiring this removal, he remonstrated with M'Nairy on the course he had pursued. An altercation ensued, which produced an alienation never entirely obliterated. This incident, added the weight of a respectable and powerful family to the hostile interests already arrayed against him.

Among his enemies was John Sevier, the Governor of the State. Sevier was very popular, and being a candidate for re-election in 1803, his exasperation against General Jackson was, in the course of the canvass, imbibed by the powerful party which supported him. In East Tennessee it had arisen to a high pitch; and while on his way to Jonesborough to hold his court in the fall of 1803, he was informed that a combination had been organized to mob him on his arrival. It had no effect but to increase his anxiety to reach his destination. Having been sick on the road, he pushed forward while scarcely able to sit on his horse, and on his arrival at Jonesborough could not dismount without assistance. Having a high fever upon him, he retired immediately to his room, and laid down upon the bed. In a short time a friend called, and informed him that a regiment of men, headed by Colonel Harrison, had assembled to tar and feather him, and begged him to lock his door. He immediately rose, threw the door wide open, and said to his friend, "Give my compliments to Colonel Harrison, and tell him my door is open to receive him and his regiment whenever they choose to wait upon me; and I hope the Colonel's chivalry will induce him to lead his men, and not follow them." Upon the delivery of his message, the mob dispersed; and, having apologized for the inconsiderate violence of his conduct, Harrison remained ever after on good terms with General Jackson.

His next court was at Knoxville, where the legislature was then in session. They had entered into an investigation of the land frauds which Jackson had done so much to defeat, and there was some evidence tending to implicate the Governor.

His exasperation became higher than ever. As Judge Jackson left the court-house on the first day of his court, he found a crowd in front, in the midst of which stood Governor Sevier, with his sword in his hand, haranguing them in a loud voice. As Jackson advanced, the Governor turned upon him; and an altercation ensued, in which insults were given and retorted. Being repeatedly defied by the Governor to meet him in single combat, the General sent him a challenge, which was accepted. But in consequence of difficulties on the part of the challenged party, as to the time and place of meeting, the General published him in the usual form. It was then understood, without any formal arrangement, that they would meet at a place called Southwest Point, within the Indian boundary. Thither the General repaired with a single friend. Having waited a couple of days without seeing or hearing of the Governor, he resolved to return to Knoxville, and bring the quarrel to a close. He had not, however, proceeded a mile when he saw the Governor approaching, escorted by about twenty men. He had already prepared another note to the Governor, setting forth his manifold grievances, and, halting in the road, he sent his friend forward to deliver it. The Governor refused to receive it. Out of patience with what he conceived to be an aggravation of former indignities, the General resolved to end the matter on the spot. He was armed with a brace of pistols at his saddle-bow and a cane; the Governor with a brace of pistols and a sword. Advancing slowly until within one hundred yards of the Governor, he leveled his cane as ancient knights did their spears, put spurs to his horse, and charged upon his antagonist. Astounded at this bold and unexpected movement, the Governor's friends had not presence of mind enough to interpose; and the Governor himself, dismounting to avoid the shock, trod on the scabbard of his sword, and was rendered incapable of resistance. A rally of his attendants prevented any very serious mischief. In the Governor's party were gentlemen who were as much the friends of General Jackson as of himself; and through their intercession all further hostile intentions were abandoned, and the parties rode on some miles together.

DUEL WITH DICKINSON.

General Jackson had a passion for fine horses. It became a principal branch of his farming business to raise them from the best blooded stock imported from Virginia and North Carolina. The enthusiasm of his character displayed itself in his attachment to favorite animals he had raised, and perhaps no man in the Western country was equally successful in that branch of agricultural pursuits. More as means to exhibit his stock and recommend it to purchasers than to indulge in the practices common at such places, he brought out his favorite horses upon the race-courses of the day, and, though not a sportsman, lost and won in many a well-contested field. An occasion of this sort, however, led to one of the most unfortunate incidents of his life.

He had a favorite stud named Truxton. A Mr. Erwin and his son-in-law, Charles Dickinson, proffered a match race at $2000 in cash notes, with a forfeiture of $800, between him and a favorite horse owned by them, called Ploughboy. The bet was accepted, and a list of notes made out; but when the time for running arrived, Erwin and Dickinson chose to pay the forfeit. Erwin offered sundry notes not due, withholding the list which was in the hands of Dickinson. Jackson refused to receive them, and demanded the list, claiming the right to select from the notes described upon it. The list was produced, a selection made, and the affair satisfactorily adjusted. Afterward a rumor reached Dickinson that General Jackson charged Erwin with producing a list of notes different from the true one. In an interview between Jackson and Dickinson, the former denied the statement, and the latter gave his author. Jackson instantly proposed to call him in; but Dickinson declined. Meeting with the author afterward, Jackson had an altercation with him, which ended in blows. Here the affair ought to have ended. But, in addition to the ordinary talebearers, there were those who desired to produce a duel between Jackson and Dickinson. The latter was brave and reckless, a trader in blacks and blooded horses, and reputed to be the best shot in the country. A quarrel with such a

man as General Jackson was flattering to his pride, and men were not wanting to take advantage of the weakness of the one party and the inflexibility of the other, to push matters to extremities. Exasperation was produced; publication followed publication; insults were given and retorted; until, at length, General Jackson was informed that a paper, more severe than its predecessors, was in the hands of the printer, and that Dickinson was about to leave the state. He flew to Nashville, and demanded a sight of it in the printer's hands. It was insulting in the highest degree, contained a direct imputation of cowardice, and concluded with a notice that the first of the next week the author would leave for Maryland. A stern challenge, demanding immediate satisfaction, was the consequence. The challenge was given the 23d of May, and Dickinson's publication appeared the next morning. Jackson pressed for an instant meeting; but by the other party it was postponed until the 30th, then to take place at Harrison's Mills, on Red River, within the limits of Kentucky; the distance twenty-four feet; the parties to stand facing each other, with pistols down perpendicularly; and, at the signal word "Fire," to fire as they pleased. Dickinson occupied the intermediate time in practising; and his ferocious boasts how often he had hit the General chalked out on a tree, and his unfeeling offers to bet that he would kill him at the approaching meeting, being duly communicated, had an effect upon his antagonist which can be better conceived than described. Jackson went upon the ground with a conviction that his life was eagerly sought, and the expectation of losing it, but with a determination which such a conviction naturally inspired in a bosom which never knew fear. At the word, Dickinson fired, and the dust was seen to fly from Jackson's clothes; the next instant Jackson fired, and Dickinson fell. Jackson, with his friend and surgeon, left the ground, and had traveled about twenty miles towards home, when the latter first knew that the general was wounded by discovering blood oozing through his clothes. On examination, it was found that Dickinson's ball in passing had buried itself in his breast, shattering two of his ribs near their articulation with the breast bone. It was some weeks before he was able to attend to business. Dick-

inson was taken to a neighboring house, where he survived but a few hours.

The friends of Dickinson and the enemies of Jackson raised tales of unfairness in the fight; but these were put down, in the estimation of candid men, by the certificates of the seconds that all had been done according to the previous understanding of the parties, and proof that Dickinson himself, though able to converse, never uttered a complaint before his death. The melancholy affair ended with various publications and certificates characteristic of the times.

The firmness of nerve exhibited by General Jackson on this occasion, has not ceased to be a subject of admiration. There are many brave men who can look danger in the face without the change of a muscle; but few there are who can hold a steady hand at the instant a leaden messenger of death is passing through their bodies. Not a man on the ground, except General Jackson himself, knew that he was wounded; and every muscle was as quiet, and his hand as steady, as if he had not known it himself. The stern purpose which might in part have nerved him, was best described by himself, when a friend expressed astonishment at his self-command: "Sir," said he, "I should have killed him if he had shot me through the brain."

HIS ADVENTURE IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

In 1811, Jackson had occasion to visit Natchez, in the Mississippi Territory, for the purpose of bringing up a number of blacks, a part of whom had become his property in consequence of having been security for a friend, and the remainder were hands which had been employed by a nephew in the neighborhood of that place. The road led through the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations of Indians, and the station of the Indian agent for the Choctaws was upon it. On reaching the agency, he found seven or eight families of emigrants and two members of the Mississippi Legislative Council detained by the agent, under the pretence that it was necessary for them to have passports from the Governor of Mississippi. One of their number had been sent forward to procure them. In the

mean time, the emigrants were buying corn from the agent at an extravagant price, and splitting rails for him at a very moderate one. Indignant at the wrong inflicted on the emigrants, he reproached the members of the Council for submitting to the detention, and asked the agent how he dared to demand a pass from a free American, traveling on a public road. The agent replied by inquiring, with much temper, whether he had a pass. "Yes, sir," rejoined the general, "I always carry mine with me. I am a free-born American citizen; and that, under the Constitution and laws, is my passport to go wherever my business calls me." He told the emigrants to gear up their wagons, and if any one attempted to obstruct them, to shoot him down as a highway robber. Setting them the example, he continued his journey, regardless of the threats of the agent.

Before he had concluded his business, he was informed that the agent had collected about fifty white men and one hundred Indians to stop him on his return, unless he produced a passport. Though advised to procure one, he refused to do so, stating that the American citizen should never in his person be subjected to the insult and indignity of procuring a pass to enable him to travel a public highway in his own country. Like all travelers through the Indian country, at that time, he was armed with a brace of pistols; and having added a rifle, and another pistol, he commenced his return journey. By a friend who had gone forward to reconnoitre, he was informed, when within a few miles of the agency, that the agent had his force in readiness to stop him. He bade his friend advance, and tell the agent, that if he attempted to stop him, it would be at the peril of his life. He then put his blacks in order, armed with their axes and clubs, told them not to stop until directed by him, and if any one offered to oppose them, to cut him down at his order. Riding by their side, he approached the agency, when the agent appeared, and asked him whether he would stop. "That," replied the general, "depends on circumstances. I have been informed that you are prepared to prevent my passing here by force. I intend to pass; and whoever attempts to prevent me, shall lay low;" and, with a look not to be mistaken, he grasped his rifle with a firmer grip.

The agent said he had no such design, and did not attempt to interrupt him.

AFFRAY WITH COLONEL BENTON.

After his return from Natchez, he had been called upon by his friend, the late Governor Carroll, to act as his second in an affair of honor with a brother of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, in which that brother was severely wounded. Colonel Benton, who was then at Washington, thought the relations which existed between him and General Jackson ought to have prevented the latter from acting against his brother, while General Jackson thought his relations with Carroll required from him that act of friendship. A correspondence passed between the parties, which, however, only widened the breach, and it ended in a fight at a public-house in Nashville, in which General Jackson's left arm was shattered by a pistol shot.

ADOPTION OF AN INDIAN BOY.

Among the slain at the battle on the Coosa, fought by Jackson on the 3d of November, 1813, was found an Indian woman with an infant boy, unhurt, sucking her lifeless breast. The little orphan was carried to camp with the other prisoners, and General Jackson attempted to hire some of the captive women to take care of him. They refused, saying, "All his relations are dead, kill him too." The General had a little brown sugar left, and he directed his attendants to make feed of sugar and water for the child until he should reach Huntsville, where he sent him to be nursed at his expense. Upon his return from the campaign, he took the child home, named him Lincoyer, and with the cordial aid of Mrs. Jackson, raised him as tenderly as if he had been his own son. He grew to be a beautiful and robust young man, as well educated as the white boys of the most respectable families. Yet his tastes were always Indian. He delighted in rambling over the fields and through the woods, sticking into his hair and clothes every gay feather he could find. He was always anxious to return to the Creek nation with the chiefs who, for many years after

the war, continued to visit the Hermitage. Desiring that he should follow some mechanical employment, General Jackson took him into the various shops in Nashville, that he might choose his trade. He was best pleased with the saddler's business, and was accordingly bound out as an apprentice to that trade. Regularly every other Saturday he visited the Hermitage, and generally was sent to Nashville on horse-back the next Monday morning. Failing in health, the General took him home to the Hermitage, where he was nursed with a father's and mother's tenderness; but in vain. He went rapidly into a consumption, and, not yet arrived at manhood, sunk into the grave. By the General and Mrs. Jackson he was mourned as a favorite son, and they always spoke of him with parental affection.

HIS PHILANTHROPY.

Among the sick, on his return with his volunteers from Natchez, was a young man reported by the surgeon to be in a dying condition, whom it was useless to remove. "Not a man shall be left who has life in him," said the General. The young man was lifted into a wagon in a state of torpor, and wholly insensible. The melancholy march commenced; and the General, with parental solicitude, passed along the train, taking special care that the invalids should, in position and appliances, have every comfort of which their situation was susceptible. With peculiar anxiety he watched the apparently dying youth, as he was jostled by the movements of the wagon. At length the young man opened his eyes, and the next instant exclaimed, "Where am I?"

"On your way home, my good fellow," replied the General, in a cheering tone. The effect was electric; he improved from that moment, and in a few weeks the General had the pleasure of restoring him, in good health, to his family and friends.

FEEDING ON ACORNS.

When General Jackson started on his expedition to relieve Talladega, he had on hand scarcely one day's provisions. It was his expectation to collect supplies from the Indian coun-

try ahead; but the failure of General White to occupy Fort Strother made an instant retreat absolutely necessary Already had his foraging parties gleaned up every thing in the shape of food for man and horse which could be found in the vicinity of the fort: and it was with a starving army that he turned back from the field of victory, after burying his dead and providing transportation for the wounded.

From the occupants of the relieved fort he purchased a small quantity of provisions, being all they had to spare; but they were not a meal for his army.

The General and his men were equally destitute, and with eagerness seized on any thing which the forest presented to gratify the cravings of hunger. While marching with the van of his army, General Jackson observed under an oak tree a quantity of acorns, which tempted his appetite. Dismounting, he gathered some handfulls of them into his pocket, and, holding his bridle in one hand, sat down on the roots of a tree to enjoy his repast, while the rear came up. A soldier observing him in the act of eating, and supposing that he had taken care to provide for himself, while his men were starving, approached and demanded something to eat. "I never turn away the hungry," said the General, "while I have any thing to give them." Thrusting his hand into his pocket and offering the soldier a few acorns, he added, "I will most cheerfully divide with you such food as I have." Struck with surprise, the soldier reported the incident to his companions, who, for the time, cheerfully submitted to privations which they knew were shared in common by them and their commander.

QUELLING A MUTINY.

During his Creek campaign great difficulties grew out of the scarcity of provisions. So long as the aspect of the army was forward, and an expectation of soon meeting the enemy occupied the minds of the men, they cheerfully submitted to privation, and with alacrity complied with every wish of their commander. But their eagerness for battle had been satisfied at Talluschatchee and Talladega, and when, instead of advancing to new conflicts, they found themselves in retreat, harassed by

an enemy which no valor could repel, their spirits sank within them, and their thoughts turned upon home. Cruelly neglected by their country, whose battles they had fought, resentment and discontent took possession of their bosoms. Increasing from day to day, and extending from individuals to companies, and from companies to regiments, they soon threatened an entire dissolution of the army. The volunteers, though deeply imbued with this feeling, were at first restrained from any public exhibition of it by their soldierly pride; but the militia regiments determined to leave the camp, and return to Tennessee. Apprized of their intention, General Jackson resolved to defeat it; and as they drew out in the morning to commence their march, they found the volunteers drawn up across their path, with orders to require them, under penalty of instant military execution, to return to their position. They at once obeyed, admiring the firmness which baffled their design.

In this operation the volunteers had been unwilling instruments in the hands of their general, and, chagrined at their own success, resolved themselves the next day to abandon the camp in a body. What was their surprise, on making a movement to accomplish that object, to find the very militia whose mutiny they had the day before repressed, drawn up in the same position to resist them! So determined was their look, that the volunteers deemed it prudent to carry out the parallel, and returned quietly to their quarters. This process, by which nearly a whole army, anxious to desert, was kept in service by arraying one species of force against another, though effectual for the moment, would not bear repetition, and the general was sensible how feeble was the thread by which he held them together. The cavalry, who not only shared in the general privation, but had no forage, petitioned for permission to retire to the vicinity of Huntsville, pledging themselves to return when called on, after recruiting their horses and receiving their winter clothing. Their petition was granted, and they immediately left the camp.

Having received letters from Colonel Pope, assuring him that abundant supplies were on the way, General Jackson resolved to make an effort to produce good feeling throughout

his army, and induce them to give him their cheerful obedience until he should be able to strike a decisive blow. He therefore called them together, laid this information before them, painted in glowing colors their devotion to their country, their services and their sufferings, depicted the miseries they would bring on their own sick and wounded companions, and upon the defenseless frontier settlers, and the deep and irretrievable disgrace upon themselves, if they were now to abandon the service and dissolve the army. He presented every consideration which could operate on the heads and hearts of patriotic, brave, humane, and proud men, and requested them to confer together that night, and communicate to him their views the next morning. Judging others by his own devoted heart, he could not but believe that such an appeal would be effectual.

With mortification and grief, he received from the officers of the volunteer regiments in the morning the annunciation that, in their opinion, "Nothing short of marching the army immediately back to the settlements could prevent those difficulties and that disgrace which must attend a forcible desertion of the camp by his soldiers." The officers of the militia reported their willingness to wait a few days longer for a supply of provisions, and, if it should be received, proceed with the campaign; otherwise, to be marched back where supplies could be procured. To preserve the volunteers for farther service, if possible, the general determined to gratify their wishes, and ordered General Hall to lead them back to Fort Deposit, there to obtain relief for themselves, and then to return as an escort to the provisions. The second regiment of volunteers, however, ashamed to be found less loyal than the militia, begged permission to remain with their general, and the first regiment marched alone. It is impossible to describe the emotions of General Jackson, when he saw a regiment of brave men, whom he had refused to abandon at Natchez even at the command of his government, for the preservation of whose well-earned fame he would have hazarded his life, deserting him in the wilderness, reckless of honor, of patriotism, of gratitude, and humanity.

Again, on the 16th of November, writing to Colonel Pope,

he says: "My men are all starving. More than half of them left me yesterday for Fort Deposit in consequence of the scarcity, and the whole will do so in a few days if plentiful supplies do not arrive. Again and again I must entreat you to spare neither labor nor expense to furnish me, and furnish me without delay. We have already struck the blow which would, if followed up, put an end to Creek hostility. I cannot express the torture of my feelings when I reflect that a campaign so auspiciously begun, and which might be so soon and so gloriously terminated, is likely to be rendered abortive for the want of supplies. For God's sake, prevent so great an evil."

In his address to the army on the 14th, General Jackson had told them that in case supplies did not reach them within two days, he would lead them back where provisions could be had. Two days had elapsed after the departure of the volunteers, and no supplies had come. The declaration had been made in the confident expectation that provisions, then known to be on the way, would reach them before the expiration of that period; but the general felt bound to comply with his word. He immediately proceeded to make arrangements for the abandonment of Fort Strother; but, contemplating the new courage with which it would inspire the enemy, the calamities it was likely to bring on the frontiers, and the disgrace upon his army, if not on himself, he exclaimed, "If only two men will remain with me, I will never abandon this post." "You have one, general," promptly replied Captain Gordon, of the spies; "let us look if we cannot find another." The captain immediately beat up for volunteers, and, with the aid of some of the general staff, soon raised one hundred and nine, who agreed to stand by their general to the last extremity.

Confident that supplies were at hand, the general marched with the militia, announcing that they would be ordered back if provisions should be met at no great distance from the fort. Within ten or twelve miles they met a drove of a hundred and fifty beeves. They halted, butchered, and ate; but the courage inspired by satiety was that of mutineers. Upon receiving an order to return, with the exception of a small party to convey the sick and wounded, they resolved to disobey it. One company resumed its march homeward before General Jackson

was apprized of their design. Informed of this movement, he hastened to a spot about a quarter of a mile ahead, where General Coffee, with a part of the staff and a few soldiers, had halted, and ordered them instantly to form across the road, and fire on the mutineers if they should attempt to pass. Rather than encounter the bold faces before them, the mutinous company thought it expedient to return to the main body, and it was hoped that no farther opposition would be exhibited.

Going alone for the purpose of mixing among his men, and appeasing them by argument and remonstrance, the general found a spirit of mutiny pervading the whole brigade. They had formed, and were on the point of moving off, knowing that no force was at hand powerful enough to resist them; but they had to deal with a man who was a host in himself. He seized a musket, threw it across his horse's neck, placed himself in front of the brigade drawn up in column, and declared he would shoot the first man who took a step in advance. Struck with awe, the men gazed at him in sullen silence. In this position, General Coffee and some of the members of his staff rode up, and placed themselves at his side. The faithful officers and soldiers, amounting to about two companies, formed in his rear, under orders to fire when he did. For some minutes not a word was uttered. A murmur then arose among the mutineers, and at length they signified their willingness to return. The matter was amicably arranged, and the troops marched back to Fort Strother, though not in the best spirits.

This incident derives additional interest from the facts, that the general's left arm was not so far healed as to enable him to aim a musket, and the one he had was too much out of order to be fired.

CAMP DISCIPLINE.

John Wood, a private in the West Tennessee militia, was one of the men engaged under the order of General Roberts, who, after being mustered into service and approaching near the camp, mutinied and returned home, because the commanding general would not exceed his authority in giving them a

positive promise of payment for an illegal tour of duty. With others, he had afterward returned and been pardoned. In a few weeks, however, his refractory spirit again exhibited itself in positive disobedience of orders, insulting language towards his commanding officer, and open mutiny. For these crimes he was tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death by shooting. This sentence was approved by General Jackson, and on the 14th of March carried into effect. To produce the intended effect on the minds of the militia, an address by the general to the prisoner was read in the shape of a general order, setting forth the enormity of his offenses, the absolute necessity for order and obedience in an army, the determination of the general to enforce them, and concluding as follows:

"This is an important crisis, in which, if we all act as becomes us, everything is to be hoped for towards the accomplishment of the objects of our government; if otherwise, everything to be feared. How it becomes us to act, we all know; and what our punishment shall be if we act otherwise, must be known also. The law, which points out the one, prescribes the other. Between that law and its offender the commanding general ought not to be expected to interfere, and he *will not*, where there are no circumstances of alleviation. There appear to be none such in your case; and, however, as a man, he may deplore your unhappy situation, he cannot, as an officer, without infringing his duty, arrest the sentence of the court-martial."

ASSAULT OF LIEUTENANT RANDOLPH.

On the 6th of May, 1833, Gen. Jackson, with the members of his Cabinet, and his Private Secretary, left Washington in compliance with the invitation of the "Monumental Committee" at Fredericksburg, to lay the corner-stone of the pillar, to be erected in honor of the mother of Washington. The President and his party embarked in the large and commodious steamer Cygnet. "The day," says a correspondent of the N. Y. Mirror, "was mild, and the air soft and refreshing. After the company had assembled on board, they paid their

respects to the Executive, which that venerable patriot received with the ease and grace of the most finished gentleman of the old school. They then separated; some of the party went upon the upper deck, to admire the picturesque and beautiful scenery of the surrounding country, whence, from the north round to the south, lay a line of high grounds, forming within their interior an extensive amphitheatre. On the south, the broad and peaceful Potomac, stretching as far as the eye could reach. On the eastern branch of the river was to be seen the navy yard, and several of the public armed vessels lying in the stream, with our flag floating on the breeze; and, on the western branch, we had a distant but beautiful view of Georgetown, as it slopes from the high grounds to the river: and between that and the navy yard, was to be seen the city of Washington, whence we had just taken our departure; and from our situation we had, at one glance, a view of the bridge crossing the river, which exceeds a mile in extent, the Chief Magistrate's house, and the Capitol, with its splendid dome, rearing its head over every other object. Among those who went upon the upper deck were the heads of department. A group of ladies, with their attendants, were seated in the after part of the boat; and an excellent band of music was playing several national airs, as the steamer glided on her way, and shortly arrived at the city of Alexandria. General Jackson had, just previous to the boat's reaching the wharf, retired to the cabin, and had taken his seat at a long table, which had been set preparatory for dinner. He was seated on the west side, and next to the berths, there being barely room enough left between the berths and table for a person to pass, by moving sidewise. Upon his left sat Mrs. Thruston, the wife of Judge Thruston, of Washington; and on the opposite side of the table sat Major Donelson, the General's private secretary; Mr. Potter, a clerk in one of the departments at Washington: and Captain Broome, of the marine corps. The President was reading a newspaper. While in this situation, (there being no other person in the cabin or near him,) a large number of citizens came on board, as it was supposed to pay their respects to him. Among the number

was Randolph, late a lieutenant in the navy. He made his way into the cabin, and after speaking to Captain Broome, who had long been acquainted with him, he immediately advanced between the table and the berths toward the President, as if to address him. The President did not know him, and it seems that Captain Broome did not mention his name, because, he said, he believed that the object of his visit was to present a petition praying to be restored to the navy again; still, as the Captain did not know that that was the object of his visit, and fearing, as he said, that he might intend to commit some act of violence, he stepped quickly to the same side of the table, and advanced up to and near Randolph, who had by this time come so near General Jackson as to be observed by him, who, supposing it was some person about to salute him, said that he was afflicted with a severe pain in his side, and begged to be excused for not rising; and seeing that Randolph had some difficulty in pulling off his glove, he stretched out his hand toward him, saying, at the same time, "Never mind your glove, sir." Upon this, Randolph thrust one hand violently into the President's face; but, before he could make use of the other, or repeat his blow, Captain Broome seized and drew him off toward the door. A part of the table was broken down in the scuffle. Mr. Potter thrust his umbrella at Randolph across the table, at the moment Captain Broome seized him; whereupon, Randolph's friends clenched him, hurried him out of the cabin, and off from the boat, leaving his hat behind. This was done so quickly, that the few persons who were near the President were not aware of it, as they had all turned round after pushing Randolph away, to inquire whether or not the Chief Magistrate was much hurt. He was so confined behind the table, that he could not rise with ease, nor could he seize his cane in time to defend himself. The news of this outrage was soon circulated around the boat, and at first it seemed so incredible that no one could be found to believe it; all, however, immediately repaired to the cabin, and heard the President relate the story himself.

"Had I been apprised," said he, "that Randolph stood before me, I should have been prepared for him, and I could

have defended myself. No villain," said he, "has ever escaped me before; and he would not, had it not been for my confined situation."

Some blood was seen on his face, and he was asked whether he had been much injured?

"No," said he, "I am not much hurt; but in endeavoring to rise, I have wounded my side, which now pains me more than it did."

About this time, one of the citizens of Alexandria, who had heard of the outrage, addressed the General, and said: "Sir, if you will pardon me, in case I am tried and convicted, I will kill Randolph for this insult to you, in fifteen minutes!"*

"No, sir," said the President, "I cannot do that. I want no man to stand between me and my assailants, and none to take revenge on my account. Had I been prepared for this *cowardly villain's* approach, I can assure you all, that he would never have the temerity to undertake such a thing again.

INTERVIEW WITH JUDGE DOUGLASS.

While attending the Nashville Convention of August, 1844, we visited the Hermitage, (only twelve miles distant,) in company with Judge Douglass, of Illinois, and some other of our fellow-citizens. The Hermitage was crowded with people from almost every State, who had been invited thither by the venerable patriot on the day succeeding the Convention.

Governor Clay, of Alabama, was near General Jackson, who was himself sitting on the sofa in the hall of his residence; and as each person entered, Governor Clay introduced him to the Hero, and he passed along. When Judge Douglass was thus introduced, General Jackson raised his still brilliant eyes, and gazed for a moment in the countenance of the Judge, still retaining his hand: "Are you the Mr. Douglass of Illinois, who delivered a speech last session on the subject of the fine imposed on me for declaring martial law at New-Orleans?" asked General Jackson.

*It has been well remarked, that this proposal was more insulting than the assault.

"I have delivered a speech in the House of Representatives upon that subject," was the modest reply of our friend.

"Then stop!" said General Jackson, "Sit down here, beside me! I desire to return to you my thanks for that speech. You are the first man that has ever relieved my mind on a subject which has rested upon it for thirty years. My enemies have always charged me with violating the Constitution of my country, by declaring martial law at New-Orleans; and my friends have always admitted the violation, but have contended that the circumstances justified me in that violation. I never could understand how it was, that the performance of a solemn duty to my country—a duty which, if I had neglected to perform, would have made me a traitor in the sight of God and man—could properly be pronounced a violation of the Constitution. I felt convinced in my own mind, that I was not guilty of such a henious offense; but I could never make out a legal justification of my course; nor has it ever been done, sir, until you, on the floor of Congress, at the late session, established it beyond the possibility of cavil or doubt.

"I thank you, sir, for that speech. It has relieved my mind from the only circumstance that rested painfully upon it. Throughout my whole life, I never performed an official act which I viewed as a violation of the Constitution of my country; and I can now go down to the grave in peace, with the perfect consciousness that I have not broken, at any period of my life, the Constitution or laws of my country."

PERSONAL ADDRESS OF GENERAL JACKSON.

"Nature had poured out her gifts lavishly upon him—endowing him with an intellect of extraordinary vigor—a will of iron—and, at the same time, a suavity of manner and an elegance of demeanor, which, all combined, would have made him a man of "mark and note" in any part of the world. Few men excelled him in personal address, and he impressed all who approached him with the opinion that they were in the presence of a being of no ordinary character. We well remember to have heard a distinguished diplomatist assert that, in his carriage and bearing as President of the United States,

he seemed to possess intuitively, and to display, without an effort, qualities which other individuals did not exhibit, whose whole lives had been passed in the most refined Courts of Europe. He had the power, beyond most men, of infusing his own spirit and opinions into those who came near him, and of arousing their personal attachment."

CHAPTER VII.

PRESIDENT JACKSON'S MESSAGE TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, RETURNING THE BILL FOR RE-CHARTERING THE UNITED STATES BANK, WITH HIS OBJECTIONS.

TO THE SENATE:

The bill "to modify and continue" the act entitled "An act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States," was presented to me on the 4th of July instant. Having considered it with that solemn regard to the principles of the constitution which the day was calculated to inspire, and come to the conclusion that it ought not to become a law, I herewith return it to the Senate, in which it originated, with my objections.

A Bank of the United States is, in many respects, convenient for the Government, and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion, and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing Bank are unauthorized by the constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, I felt it my duty, at an early period of my administration, to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution combining all its advantages, and obviating these objections. I sincerely regret that, in the act before me I can perceive none of those modifications of the Bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice, with sound policy, or with the Constitution of our country.

The present corporate body, denominated the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States, will have existed, at the time this act is intended to take effect, twenty years. It enjoys an exclusive privilege of banking

under the authority of the General Government, a monopoly of its favor and support, and, as a necessary consequence, almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange. The powers, privileges, and favors bestowed upon it in the original charter, by increasing the value of the stock far above its par value, operated as a gratuity of many millions to the stockholders.

An apology may be found for the failure to guard against this result, in the consideration that the effect of the original act of incorporation could not be certainly foreseen at the time of its passage. The act before me proposes another gratuity to the holders of the same stock, and in many cases to the same men, of at least seven millions more. This donation finds no apology in any uncertainty as to the effect of the act. On all hands, it is conceded, that its passage will increase, at least twenty or thirty per cent more, the market price of the stock, subject to the payment of the annuity of $200,000 per year, secured by the act; thus adding in a moment, one-fourth to its par value. It is not our own citizens only who are to receive the bounty of our Government. More than eight millions of the stock of this Bank are held by foreigners. By this act the American republic proposes virtually to make them a present of some millions of dollars. For these gratuities to foreigners, and to some of our own opulent citizens, the act secures no equivalent whatever. They are the certain gains of the present stockholders, under the operation of this act, after making full allowance for the payment of the bonus.

Every monopoly, and all exclusive privileges, are granted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent. The many millions which this act proposes to bestow on the stockholders of the existing Bank, must come, directly or indirectly, out of the earnings of the American people. It is due to them, therefore, if their Government sell monopolies and exclusive privileges, that they should at least exact for them as much as they are worth in open market. The value of the monopoly in this case may be correctly ascertained. The twenty-eight millions of stock would probably be at an advance of fifty per cent, and command in market at least forty

two millions of dollars, subject to the payment of the present loans. The present value of the monopoly, therefore, is seventeen millions of dollars, and this the act proposes to sell for three millions, payable in fifteen annual installments, $200,000 each.

It is not conceivable how the present stockholders can have any claim to the special favor of the Government. The present corporation has enjoyed its monopoly during the period stipulated in the original contract. If we must have such a corporation, why should not the Government sell out the whole stock, and thus secure to the people the full market value of the privileges granted? Why should not Congress create and sell the twenty-eight millions of stock, incorporating the purchasers with all the powers and privileges secured in this act, and putting the premium upon the sales into the Treasury?

But this act does not permit competition in the purchase of this monopoly. It seems to be predicated on the erroneous idea, that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right, not only to the favor, but to the bounty of the Government. It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our citizens, chiefly of the richest class; for their benefit does this act exclude the whole American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly, and dispose of it for many millions less than it is worth. This seems the less excusable, because some of our citizens, not now stockholders, petitioned that the door of competition might be opened, and offered to take a charter on terms much more favorable to the government and country.

But this proposition, although made by men whose aggregate wealth is believed to be equal to all the private stock in the existing Bank, has been set aside, and the bounty of our Government is proposed to be again bestowed on the few who have been fortunate enough to secure the stock, and, at this moment, wield the power of the existing institution. I cannot perceive the justice or policy of this course. If our Government must sell monopolies, it would seem to be its duty to take nothing less than their full value; and if gratuities must be made once in fifteen or twenty years, let them not be be-

stowed on the subjects of a foreign government, nor upon a designated or favorable class of men in our own country. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to confine our favors to our own fellow citizens, and let each in his turn enjoy an opportunity to profit by our bounty. In the bearings of the act before me upon these points, I find ample reasons why it should not become a law.

It has been urged as an argument in favor of re-chartering the present Bank, that calling in its loans will produce great embarrassment and distress. The time allowed to close its concerns is ample, and if it has been well managed its pressure will be light, and heavy only in case its management has been bad. If, therefore, it shall produce distress, the fault will be its own, and it would furnish a reason against renewing a power which has been so obviously abused. But will there ever be a time when this reason will be less powerful? To acknowledge its force is to admit that the Bank ought to be perpetual, and as a consequence, the present stockholders, and those inheriting their rights, as successors, be established a privileged order, clothed both with great political power, and enjoying immense pecuniary advantages from their connection with the government.

The modifications of the existing charter, proposed by this act, are not such, in my view, as make it consistent with the rights of the States, or the liberties of the people. The qualification of the right of the Bank to hold real estate, the limitation of its power to establish branches, and the power reserved to Congress to forbid the circulation of small notes, are restrictions comparatively of little value or importance. All the objectionable principles of the existing corporation, and most of its odious features, are retained without alleviation.

The fourth section provides "that the notes or bills of the said corporation, although the same be on the faces thereof, respectively made payable at one place only, shall, nevertheless, be received by the said corporation at the Bank, or at any of the offices of discount and deposite thereof, if tendered in liquidation or payment of any balance or balances due to said corporation, or to such office of discount and deposite from any other incorporated Bank." This provision secures to the

State Banks a legal privilege in the Bank of the United States, which is withheld from all private citizens. If a State Bank in Philadelphia owe the Bank of the United States, and have notes issued by the St. Louis Branch, it can pay the debt with those notes; but if a merchant, mechanic, or other private citizen, be in like circumstances, he cannot by law pay his debt with those notes, but must sell them at a discount, or send them to St. Louis to be cashed. This boon conceded to the State Banks, though not unjust in itself, is most odious, because it does not measure out equal justice to the high and the low, the rich and the poor.

To the extent of its practical effect, it is a bond of union among the banking establishments of the nation, erecting them into an interest separate from that of the people, and its necessary tendency is to unite the Bank of the United States and the State Banks in any measure which may be thought conducive to their common interest.

The ninth section of the act recognizes principles of worse tendency than any provision of the present charter.

It enacts that the "Cashier of the Bank shall annually report to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of all stockholders who are not resident citizens of the United States; and on the application of the Treasurer of any State, shall make out, and transmit to such Treasurer a list of stockholders residing in, or citizens of such State, with the amount owned by each."

Although this provision, taken in connection with a decision of the Supreme Court, surrenders, by its silence, the right of the States to tax the banking institutions created by this corporation, under the name of branches, throughout the Union, it is evidently intended to be construed as a concession of their right to tax that portion of the stock which may be held by their own citizens and residents. In this light, if the act becomes a law, it will be understood by the States, who will probably proceed to levy a tax equal to that paid upon the stock of banks incorporated by themselves. In some States that tax is now one per cent, either on the capital or on the shares; and that may be assumed as the amount which all citizens or resident stockholders would be taxed under the op-

eration of this act. As it is only the stock held in the States, and not that employed within them, which would be subject to taxation, and as the names of foreign stockholders are not to be reported to the treasurers of the States, it is obvious that the stock held by them will be exempt from this burden. Their annual profits will, therefore, be increased one per cent more than the citizen stockholders; and as the annual dividends of the Bank may be safely estimated at seven per cent, the stock will be worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than to citizens of the United States. To appreciate the effect which this state of things will produce, we must take a brief review of the operations and present condition of the Bank of the United States.

By documents submitted to Congress at the present session, it appears that, on the 1st of January, 1832, of the 28,000,000 of private stock, in the corporation, 8,405,500 were held by foreigners, mostly of Great Britain. The amount of stock held in the nine Western States is 140,200 dollars; and in the four Southern States is 5,623,100 dollars; and in the Eastern and Middle States about 13,522,000 dollars. The profits of the Bank in 1831, as shown in a statement of Congress, were about 3,455,598 dollars; of this there accrued in the nine Western States about 1,640,048 dollars; in the four Southern States about 352,507 dollars; and in the Middle and Eastern States about 1,463,041 dollars. As little stock is held in the West, it is obvious that the debt of the people in that section to the Bank is principally a debt to the Eastern and foreign stockholders; that the interest they pay upon it is carried into the Eastern States and into Europe; and that it is a burden upon their industry, and a drain of their currency, which no country can bear without inconvenience and occasional distress. To meet this burden, and equalize the exchange operations of the Bank, the amount of specie drawn from those States, through its branches, within the last two years, as shown by its official report, was about 6,000,000 dollars. More than half a million of this amount does not stop in the Eastern States, but passes on to Europe, to pay the dividends to the foreign stockholders. In the principle of taxation recognized by this act, the Western States had no adequate com-

pensation for this perpetual burden on their industry, and drain upon their currency. The Branch Bank at Mobile made, last year, 95,140 dollars; yet, under the provisions of this act, the State of Alabama can raise no revenue from these profitable operations, because not a share of the stock is held by any of her citizens. Mississippi and Missouri are in the same condition in relation to the branches at Natchez and St. Louis, and such, in a greater or less degree, is the condition of every Western State. The tendency of the plan of taxation which this act proposes, will be to place the whole United States in the same relation to foreign countries which the Western States bear to the Eastern. When, by a tax on resident stockholders, the stock of this Bank is made worth ten or fifteen per cent more to foreigners than to residents, most of it will inevitably leave the country.

Thus will this provision, in its practical effect, deprive the Eastern as well as the Southern and Western States of the means of raising a revenue from the extension of business and the great profits of this institution. It will make the American people debtors to aliens in nearly the whole amount due to this Bank, and send across the Atlantic from two to five millions of specie every year, to pay the Bank dividends

In another of its bearings, this provision is fraught with danger. Of the twenty-five directors of this Bank, five are chosen by the Government, and twenty by the citizen stockholders. From all voice in these elections the foreign stockholders are excluded by the charter. In proportion, therefore, as the stock is transferred to foreign holders, the extent of suffrage in the choice of directors is curtailed. Already is almost a third of the stock in foreign hands, and not represented in elections. It is constantly passing out of the country, and this act will accelerate its departure. The entire control of the institution would necessarily fall into the hands of a few citizen stockholders, and the ease with which the object would be accomplished, would be a temptation to designing men, to secure that control in their own hands, by monopolizing the remaining stock. There is danger that a president and directors would then be able to elect themselves from year to year, and without responsibility or control, manage the whole concerns

of the Bank during the existence of the charter. It is easy to conceive that great evils to our country and its institutions might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men, irresponsible to the people.

Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a Bank, that, in its nature, has so little to bind it to our country? The President of the Bank has told us that most of the State Banks exist by its forbearance. Should its influence become concentrated, as it may under the operation of such an act as this, in the hands of a self-elected Directory, whose interests are identified with those of the foreign stockholder, will there not be cause to tremble for the purity of our elections in peace, and for the independence of our country in war? Their power would be great whenever they might choose to exert it; but if this monopoly were regularly renewed every fifteen or twenty years, on terms proposed by themselves, they might seldom in peace put forth their strength to influence elections or control the affairs of the nation; but if any private citizen or public functionary should interpose to curtail its powers, or prevent a renewal of its privileges, it cannot be doubted that he would be made to feel its influence.

Should the stock of the Bank principally pass into the hands of the subjects of a foreign country, and we should unfortunately become involved in a war with that country, what would be our condition? Of the course which would be pursued by a Bank almost wholly owned by the subjects of a foreign power, and managed by those whose interests, if not affections, would run in the same direction, there can be no doubt. All its operations within would be in aid of the hostile fleets and armies without; controlling our currency, receiving our public moneys, and holding thousands of our citizens in dependence, it would be more formidable and dangerous than the naval and military power of the enemy.

If we must have a Bank with private stockholders, every consideration of sound policy, and every impulse of American feeling, admonishes that it should be purely American. Its stockholders should be composed exclusively of our own citizens, who at least ought to be friendly to our Government, and willing to support it in times of difficulty and danger. So

abundant is domestic capital, that competition in subscribing for the stock of local banks has recently led almost to riots. To a Bank exclusively of American stockholders, possessing the powers and privileges granted by this act, subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars could be readily obtained. Instead of sending abroad the stock of the bank, in which the Government must deposit its funds, and on which it must rely to sustain its credit in times of emergency, it would rather seem to be expedient to prohibit its sale to aliens, under penalty of absolute forfeiture.

It is maintained by the advocates of the Bank, that its constitutionality in all its features, ought to be considered as settled by precedent, and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent. Mere precedent is a dangerous source of authority, and should not be regarded as deciding questions of constitutional power, except where the acquiescence of the people and the States can be considered as well settled. So far from this being the case on this subject, an argument against the Bank might be based on precedent. One Congress, in 1791, decided in favor of a Bank; another, in 1811, decided against it. One Congress, in 1815, decided against a Bank; another in 1816, decided in its favor. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source were equal. If we resort to the States, the expressions of legislative, judicial, and executive opinions against the Bank have been probably, to those in its favor, as four to one. There is nothing in precedent therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favor of the act before me.

If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the co-ordinate authorities of this Government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court, must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the President, to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval, as it is of the Supreme Judges,

when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the Judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the Judges; and on that point the President is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive, when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve.

But, in the case relied upon, the Supreme Court have not decided that all the features of this corporation are compatible with the constitution. It is true that the Court have said that the law incorporating the bank is a constitutional exercise of power by Congress. But taking into view the whole opinion of the Court, and the reasoning by which they have come to that conclusion, I understand them to have decided that, inasmuch as a Bank is an appropriate means for carrying into effect the enumerated powers of the General Government, therefore the law incorporating it is in accordance with that provision of the constitution which declares that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying those powers into execution." Having satisfied themselves that the word "necessary," in the constitution, means "needful," "requisite," "essential," "conducive to," and that "a Bank" is a convenient, a useful, and essential instrument in the prosecution of the Government's "fiscal operations," they conclude that to "use one must be within the discretion of Congress;" and that "the act to incorporate the Bank of the United States, is a law made in pursuance of the Constitution." "But," say they, "where the law is not prohibited, and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government, to undertake here to inquire into the degree of its necessity, would be to pass the line which circumscribes the judicial department, and to tread on legislative ground."

The principle here affirmed is, that "the degree of its necessity," involving all the details of a Banking institution, is a question exclusively for legislative consideration. A Bank is constitutional; but it is the province of the Legislature to determine whether this or that particular power, privilege, or

exemption, is "necessary and proper" to enable the Bank to discharge its duties to the Government, and from their decision there is no appeal to the courts of justice. Under the decision of the Supreme Court, therefore, it is the exclusive province of Congress and the President to decide, whether the particular features of this act are "necessary and proper," in order to enable the Bank to perform conveniently and efficiently the public duties assigned to it as a fiscal agent, and therefore constitutional; or *unnecessary* and *improper*, and therefore unconstitutional.

Without commenting on the general principle affirmed by the Supreme Court, let us examine the details of this act, in accordance with the rule of legislative action which they have laid down. It will be found that many of the powers and privileges conferred on it cannot be supposed necessary for the purpose for which it is proposed to be created, and are not therefore means necessary to attain the end in view, and consequently not justified by the Constitution.

The original act of incorporation, section twenty-one, enacts "that no other Bank shall be established by any future law of the United States, during the continuance of the corporation hereby created, for which the faith of the United States is hereby pledged: *Provided*, Congress may renew existing charters for Banks within the District of Columbia, not increasing the capital thereof, and may also establish any other Bank or Banks in said District, with capitals not exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars, if they shall deem it expedient." This provision is continued in force, by the act before me, fifteen years from the 3d of March, 1836.

If Congress possessed the power to establish one Bank, they had power to establish more than one, if, in their opinion, two or more Banks had been "necessary" to facilitate the execution of the powers delegated to them by the Constitution. If they possessed the power to establish a second Bank, it was a power derived from the Constitution, to be exercised from time to time, and at any time when the interests of the country or the emergencies of the government might make it expedient. It was possessed by one Congress as well as another, and by all Congresses alike, and alike at every ses-

sion. But the Congress of 1816 have taken it away from their successors for twenty years, and the Congress of 1832 proposes to abolish it for fifteen years more. It cannot be "necessary" or "proper" for Congress to barter away, or divest themselves of any of the powers vested in them by the Constitution, to be exercised for the public good. It is not "necessary" to the efficiency of the Bank, nor is it "proper" in relation to themselves and their successors. They may properly use the discretion vested in them, but they may not limit the discretion of their successors. This restriction on themselves, and grant of a monopoly to the Bank, is therefore unconstitutional.

In another point of view, this provision is a palpable attempt to amend the Constitution by an act of legislation. The Constitution declares that "the Congress shall have power" to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over the District of Columbia. Its constitutional power, therefore, to establish banks in the District of Columbia, and increase their capital at will, is unlimited and uncontrollable by any other power than that which gave authority to the Constitution. Yet this act declares that Congress shall not increase the capital of existing banks, nor create other banks with capitals exceeding in the whole six millions of dollars. The Constitution declares that Congress *shall* have power to exercise exclusive legislation over this District, "*in all cases whatsoever;*" and this act declares they *shall not*. Which is the supreme law of the land? This provision cannot be "*necessary,*" or "*proper,*" or *constitutional*, unless the absurdity be admitted, that whenever it be "necessary and proper," in the opinion of Congress, they have a right to barter away one portion of the powers vested in them by the Constitution, as a means of executing the rest.

On two subjects only does the Constitution recognize in Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges or monopolies. It declares that "Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." Out of this express delegation of power, have grown our laws of patents and

copy-rights. As the Constitution expressly delegates to Congress the power to grant exclusive privileges in these cases, as the means of executing the substantive power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts," it is consistent with the fair rules of construction to conclude, that such a power was not intended to be granted as a means of accomplishing any other end. On every other subject which comes within the scope of congressional power, there is an ever-living discretion in the use of proper means, which cannot be restricted or abolished without an amendment of the Constitution. Every act of Congress, therefore, which attempts, by grants of monopolies, or sale of exclusive privileges for a limited time, or a time without limit, to restrict or extinguish its own discretion in the choice of means to execute its delegated powers, is equivalent to a legislative amendment of the Constitution, and palpably unconstitutional.

This act authorizes and encourages transfers of its stock to foreigners, and grants them an exemption from all State and national taxation. So far from being "necessary and proper" that the Bank should possess this power, to make it a safe and efficient agent of the Government in its fiscal operations, it is calculated to convert the Bank of the United States into a foreign bank, to impoverish our people in time of peace, to disseminate a foreign influence through every section of the Republic, and in war to endanger our independence.

The several States reserved the power, at the formation of the Constitution, to regulate and control titles and transfers of real property; and most, if not all of them, have laws disqualifying aliens from acquiring or holding lands within their limits. But this act, in disregard of the undoubted right of the States to prescribe such disqualifications, gives to aliens, stockholders in this Bank, an interest and title, as members of the corporation, to all the real property it may acquire within any of the States of this Union. This privilege granted to aliens is not "necessary" to enable the Bank to perform its public duties, nor in any sense "proper," because it is vitally subversive of the rights of the States.

The Government of the United States have no constitutional power to purchase lands within the States, except "for the

erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings," and even for these objects, only "by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be." By making themselves stockholders in the Bank, and granting to the corporation the power to purchase lands for other purposes, they assume a power not granted in the Constitution, and grant to others what they do not themselves possess. It is not necessary to the receiving, safe-keeping, or transmission of the funds of Government, that the Bank should possess this power, and it is not proper that Congress should thus enlarge the powers delegated to them in the Constitution.

The old Bank of the United States possessed a capital of only eleven millions of dollars, which was found fully sufficient to enable it, with despatch and safety, to perform all the functions required of it by the Government. The capital of the present Bank is thirty-five millions of dollars, at least twenty-four more than experience has proved to be necessary to enable a bank to perform its public functions. The public debt which existed during the period of the old Bank, and on the establishment of the new, has been nearly paid off, and our revenue will soon be reduced. This increase of capital is, therefore, not for public, but for private purposes.

The Government is the only "proper" judge where its agents should reside and keep their offices, because it best knows where their presence will be "necessary." It cannot, therefore, be "necessary" or "proper" to authorize the Bank to locate branches where it pleases, to perform the public service, without consulting the Government, and contrary to its will. The principle laid down by the Supreme Court, concedes that Congress cannot establish a Bank for the purpose of private speculation and gain, but only as a means of executing the delegated powers of the General Government. By the same principle, a Branch Bank cannot constitutionally be established for other than public purposes. The power which this act gives to establish two branches in any State, without the injunction or request of the Government, and for other than public purposes, is not "necessary" to the due execution of the powers delegated to Congress.

The bonus which is exacted from the Bank, is a confession,

upon the face of the act, that the powers granted by it are greater than are "necessary" to its character as a fiscal agent. The Government does not tax its officers and agents for the privileges of serving it. The bonus of a million and a half, required by the original charter, and that of three millions proposed by this act, are not exacted for the privilege of giving "the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, within the United States or the territories thereof, and for distributing the same in payment of the public creditors, without charging commission, or claiming allowance on account of the difference of exchange," as required by the act of incorporation, but for something more beneficial to the stockholders. The original act declares that it (the bonus) is granted "in consideration of the exclusive privileges and benefits conferred by this act upon said Bank;" and the act before me declares it to be "in consideration of the exclusive benefits and privileges continued by this act to the said corporation for fifteen years aforesaid." It is, therefore, for "exclusive privileges and benefits," conferred for their own use and emolument, and not for the advantage of the Government, that a bonus is exacted. These surplus powers, for which the Bank is required to pay, cannot be "necessary," to make it the fiscal agent of the treasury. If they were, the exaction of a bonus for them would not be "proper."

It is maintained by some, that the Bank is a means of executing the constitutional power "to coin money, and regulate the value thereof." Congress have established a mint to coin money, and passed laws to regulate the value thereof. The money so coined, with its value so regulated, and such foreign coins as Congress may adopt, are the only currency known to the Constitution. But if they have other power to regulate the currency, it was conferred to be exercised by themselves, and not to be transferred to a corporation. If the Bank be established for that purpose, with a charter unalterable without its consent, Congress have parted with their power for a term of years, during which the Constitution is a dead letter. It is neither necessary nor proper to transfer its legislative power to such a Bank, and therefore unconstitutional.

By its silence, considered in connection with the decision of

the Supreme Court, in the case of McCulloch against the State of Maryland, this act takes from the States the power to tax a portion of the banking business carried on within their limits, in subversion of one of the strongest barriers which secured them against federal encroachments. Banking, like farming, manufacturing, or any other occupation or profession, is a business, the right to follow which is not originally derived from the laws. Every citizen, and every company of citizens, in all our States, possessed the right until the State Legislatures deemed it good policy to prohibit private banking by law. If the prohibitory State laws were now repealed, every citizen would again possess the right. The State banks are a qualified restoration of the right which has been taken away by the laws against banking, guarded by such provisions and limitations as, in the opinion of the State Legislatures, the public interest requires. These corporations, unless there be an exemption in their charter, are, like private bankers and banking companies, subject to State taxation. The manner in which these taxes shall be laid, depends wholly on legislative discretion. It may be upon the bank, upon the stock, upon the profits, or in any other mode which the sovereign power shall will.

Upon the formation of the Constitution, the States guarded their taxing power with peculiar jealousy. They surrendered it only as it regards imports and exports. In relation to every other object within their jurisdiction, whether persons, property, business or professions, it was secured in as ample a manner as it was before possessed. All persons, though United States officers, are liable to a poll tax by the States within which they reside; the lands of the United States are liable to the usual land tax, except in the new States, from whom agreements that they will not tax unsold lands, are exacted when they are admitted into the Union: horses, wagons, any beasts, or vehicles, tools, or property, belonging to private citizens, though employed in the service of the United States, are subject to State taxation. Every private business, whether carried on by an officer of the General Government or not, whether it be mixed with public concerns or not, even if it be

carried on by the Government of the United States itself, separately or in partnership, falls within the scope of the taxing power of the State. Nothing comes more fully within it than banks and the business of banking, by whomsoever instituted and carried on. Over this whole subject-matter, it is just as absolute, unlimited, and uncontrollable, as if the Constitution had never been adopted, because, in the formation of that instrument it was reserved without qualification.

The principle is conceded, that the States cannot rightfully tax the operations of the General Government. They cannot tax the money of the Government deposited in the State banks, nor the agency of those banks in remitting it; but will any man maintain that their mere selection to perform this public service for the General Government, would exempt the State banks, and their ordinary business, from State taxation? Had the United States, instead of establising a Bank at Philadelphia, employed a private banker to keep and transmit their funds, would it have deprived Pennsylvania of the right to tax his bank and his usual banking operations? It will not be pretended. Upon what principle, then, are the banking establishments of the Bank of the United States, and their usual banking operations, to be exempted from taxation? It is not their public agency, or the deposits of the Government, which the States claim a right to tax, but their banks and their banking powers, instituted and exercised within State jurisdiction for their private emolument—those powers and privileges for which they pay a bonus, and which the States tax in their own banks. The exercise of these powers within a State, no matter by whom or under what authority, whether by private citizens in their original right, by corporate bodies created by the States, by foreigners, or the agents of foreign Governments located within their limits, forms a legitimate object of State taxation. From this, and like sources, from the persons, property, and business, that are found residing, located, or carried on, under their jurisdiction, must the States, since the surrender of their right to raise a revenue from imports and exports, draw all the money necessary for the support of their Governments, and the maintenance of their independence. There is

no more appropriate subject of taxation than banks, banking, and bank stocks, and none to which the States ought more pertinaciously to cling.

It cannot be necessary to the character of the Bank, as a fiscal agent of the Government, that its private business should be exempted from that taxation to which all the State banks are liable; nor can I conceive it "proper" that the substantive and most essential powers reserved by the States shall be thus attacked and annihilated as a means of executing the powers delegated to the General Government. It may be safely assumed that none of those sages who had an agency in forming or adopting our Constitution, ever imagined that any portion of the taxing power of the States, not prohibited by them, nor delegated to Congress, was to be swept away and annihilated, as a means of executing certain powers delegated to Congress.

If our power over means is so absolute, that the Supreme Court will not call in question the constitutionality of an act of Congress, the subject of which is "not prohibited, and is really calculated to effect any of the objects entrusted to the Government," although, as in the case before me, it takes away powers expressly granted to Congress, and rights scrupulously reserved to the States, it becomes us to proceed in our legislation with the utmost caution. Though not directly, our own powers, and the rights of the States, may be indirectly legislated away in the use of means to execute substantive powers. We may not enact that Congress shall not have the power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia; but we may pledge the faith of the United States that, as a means of executing other powers, it shall not be exercised for twenty years, or forever! We may not pass an act prohibiting the States to tax the banking business carried on within their limits; but we may, as a means of executing our powers over other objects, place that business in the hands of our agents, and then declare it exempt from State taxation in their hands! Thus may our own powers, and the rights of the States, which we cannot directly curtail or invade, be frittered away and extinguished in the use of means employed by us to execute other powers. That a Bank of

the United States, competent to all duties which may be required by the Government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our own delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the States, I do not entertain a doubt. Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed In the absence of such a call, it was obviously proper that he should confine himself to pointing out those prominent features in the act presented, which, in his opinion, make it incompatible with the Constitution, and sound policy. A general discussion will now take place, eliciting new light, and settling important principles; and a new Congress, elected in the midst of such discussion, and furnishing an equal representation of the people, according to the last census, will bear to the Capitol the verdict of public opinion, and I doubt not bring this important question to a satisfactory result.

Under such circumstances, the Bank comes forward and asks a renewal of its charter for a term of fifteen years, upon conditions which not only operate as a gratuity to the stockholders of many millions of dollars, but will sanction any abuses, and legalize any encroachments.

Suspicions are entertained, and charges are made, of gross abuse and violation of its charter. An investigation, unwillingly conceded, and so restricted in time as necessarily to make it incomplete and unsatisfactory, discloses enough to excite suspicion and alarm. In the practices of the principal Bank, partially unveiled in the absence of important witnesses, and in numerous charges confidently made, and as yet wholly uninvestigated, there was enough to induce a majority of the Committee of Investigation, a committee which was selected from the most able and honorable members of the House of Representatives, to recommend a suspension of further action upon the bill, and a prosecution of the inquiry. As the charter had yet four years to run, and as a renewal now was not necessary to the successful prosecution of its business, it was to have been expected that the Bank itself, conscious of its purity, and proud of its character, would have withdrawn its application for the present, and demanded the severest scrutiny into all its transactions. In their declining to do so, there

seems to be an additional reason why the functionaries of the Government should proceed with less haste, and more caution, in the renewal of their monopoly.

The Bank is professedly established as an agent of the executive branches of the Government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action, nor upon the provisions of this act, was the Executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say, that it neither needs nor wants an agent clothed with such powers, and favored by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which makes it necessary or proper. Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act, it cannot be found either in the wishes or necessities of the Executive Department, by which present action is deemed premature, and the powers conferred upon its agent not only unnecessary, but dangerous to the Government and country.

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of Government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven, and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law. But when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions—to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges—to make the rich richer, and the potent more powerful—the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics and laborers, who have neither the time nor the means of securing the like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in Government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.

Nor is our government to be maintained, or our Union pre-

served, by invasions of the rights and powers of the several States. In thus attempting to make our General Government strong, we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and States, as much as possible, to themselves; in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence—not in its control, but in its protection—not in binding the States more closely to the centre, but leaving each to move, unobstructed, in its proper orbit.

Experience should teach us wisdom. Most of the difficulties our Government now encounters, and most of the dangers which impend over our Union, have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of Government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied in this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires, we have, in the results of our legislation, arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion, which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union. It is time to pause in our career, to review our principles, and, if possible, revive that devoted spirit of patriotism, and spirit of compromise, which distinguished the sages of the revolution and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot, at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our Government what it ought to be, we can, at least, take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our Government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy: if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me, ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us, and the dangers which threaten our institutions, there is cause for neither dismay or alarm. For relief and deliverance, let us firmly rely on that kind Providence which, I am sure, watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our republic, and

on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through His abundant goodness and their patriotic devotion, our liberty and our Union will be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1832.

PROTEST TO THE SENATE.

When the Whig majority in the United States Senate attempted to pass judgment on General Jackson, for his action in removing the Deposits from the United States Bank, and to record a sentence against him, which, if the Senate had been acting in the only capacity it could constitutionally act—as the Court for the trial of Impeachments brought by the House of Representatives—must have resulted in his removal from office, the President rebuked the usurpation and defended himself against the accusations of the Senate in a Protest, the most eloquent of all the able State papers of his administration. In the following extract, he vindicates the purity of his motives, and gives his idea of a true republic, such "as he understood it," and such as the American people understand and hope to realize it:

"The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation on my private as well as upon my public character; and as it must stand forever on their journals, I cannot close this substitute for that defense which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking, that I have lived in vain, if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and purposes from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person, enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased—in vain have I since periled property, fame and life, in defense of the rights and privileges so dearly bought—in vain am I now, without a personal aspiration, or the hope of individual advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers, from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt—if any

serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I should have sought an alliance with that powerful institution, which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs—had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never, in the fire of youth, nor in the vigor of manhood, could I find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty: and now, I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame, instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honored, and usurpers expiate their crimes.

"The only ambition I can feel is to acquit myself to Him to whom I must soon render an account of my stewardship; to serve my fellow-men, and live respected and honored in the history of my country. No; the ambition which leads me on, is an anxious desire and a fixed determinaton, to return to the people, unimpaired, the sacred trust they have confided to my charge—to heal the wounds of the Constitution and preserve it from further violation; to persuade my countrymen, so far as I may, that it is not in a splendid Government, supported by powerful monopolies and aristocratic establishments, that they will find happiness, or their liberties protection; but in a plain system, void of pomp—protecting all, and granting favors to none—dispensing its blessings like the dews of Heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and beauty they contribute to produce. It is such a Government that the genius of our People requires—such an one only under which our States may remain for ages to come, united, prosperous and free. If the Almighty Being who has hitherto sustained and protected me, will but vouchsafe to make my feeble powers instrumental to such a result, I shall anticipate with pleasure the place to be assigned me in the history of my country, and die contented with the belief, that I have contributed, in some small degree, to increase the value and prolong the duration of American Liberty."

PRESIDENT JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION TO THE NULLIFIERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Whereas, a Convention assembled in the State of South Carolina, having passed an ordinance by which they declare, "That the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, and now having actual operation and effect within the United States, and more especially," two acts for the same purpose, passed on the 29th of May, 1828, and on the 14th of July, 1832, "are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null and void, and no law," nor binding on the citizens of that State or its officers: and by the said ordinance, it is further declared to be unlawful for any of the constituted authorities of the State or of the United States, to enforce the payment of the duties imposed by the said acts within the same State, and that it is the duty of the Legislature to pass such laws as may be necessary to give full effect to the said ordinance:

And whereas, by the said ordinance, it is further ordained, that in no case of law or equity, decided in the courts of said State, wherein shall be drawn in question the validity of the said ordinance, or of the acts of the Legislature that may be passed to give it effect, or of the said laws of the United States, no appeal shall be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States, nor shall any copy of the record be permitted or allowed for that purpose, and that any person attempting to take such appeal shall be punished as for a contempt of court:

And, finally, the said ordinance declares, that the people of South Carolina will maintain the said ordinance at every hazard; and that they will consider the passage of any act of Congress abolishing or closing the ports of the said State, or otherwise obstructing the free ingress or egress of vessels to and from the said ports, or any other act of the federal government to coerce the State, shut up her ports, destroy or harass her commerce, or to enforce the said act otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union;

and that the people of the said State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other states, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent states may of right do:

And whereas, the said ordinance prescribes to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct, in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its Constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the Union—that Union, which, coeval with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite them than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious independence—that sacred Union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy Constitution, has brought us by the favor of Heaven to a state of prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honor and prosperity, and to justify the confidence my fellow-citizens have reposed in me, I, ANDREW JACKSON, President of the United States, have thought proper to issue this my *Proclamation*, stating my views of the Constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the Convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and, appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences that must inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the Convention.

Strict duty would require of me nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which I am now, or may hereafter be invested, for preserving the peace of the Union, and for the execution of the laws. But the imposing aspect which opposition has assumed in this case, by clothing itself with state authority, and the deep interest which the people of the United States must all feel in preventing a resort to stronger measures, while there is a hope that any thing will be yielded to reasoning and remonstrance, perhaps demand, and will certainly

justify a full exposition to South Carolina and the nation, of the views I entertain of this important question, as well as a distinct enunciation of the course which my sense of duty will require me to pursue.

The ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured; but on the strange position that any one state may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the Union, and yet be bound by no other of its laws than it may choose to consider constitutional. It is true, they add, that to justify this abrogation of a law, it must be palpably contrary to the Constitution; but it is evident, that to give the right of resisting laws of that description, coupled with the uncontrolled right to decide what laws deserve that character, is to give the power of resisting all laws. For, as by the theory, there is no appeal, the reasons alleged by the State, good or bad, must prevail. If it should be said that public opinion is a sufficient check against the abuse of this power, it may be asked why it is not deemed a sufficient guard against the passage of an unconstitutional act by Congress. There is, however, a restraint in this last case, which makes the assumed power of a state more indefensible, and which does not exist in the other. There are two appeals from an unconstitutional act passed by Congress—one to the judiciary, the other to the people and the states. There is no appeal from the State decision in theory, and the practical illustration shows that the courts are closed against an application to review it, both judge and jurors being sworn to decide in its favor. But reasoning on this subject is superfluous when our social compact in express terms declares, that the laws of the United States, its Constitution and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land—and for greater caution adds, "that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." And it may be asserted without fear of refutation, that no federative government could exist without a similar provision. Look for a moment to the consequences.

If South Carolina considers the revenue laws unconstitutional, and has a right to prevent their execution in the port of Charleston, there would be a clear constitutional objection to their collection in every other port, and no revenue could be collected any where; for all imposts must be equal. It is no answer to repeat, that an unconstitutional law is no law, so long as the question of its legality is to be decided by the State itself; for every law operating injuriously upon any local interest, will be perhaps thought, and certainly represented, as unconstitutional, and, as has been shown, there is no appeal.

If this doctrine had been established at an earlier day, the Union would have been dissolved in its infancy. The excise law in Pennsylvania, the embargo and non-intercourse law in the eastern states, the carriage tax in Virginia, were all deemed unconstitutional, and were more unequal in their operation than any of the laws now complained of; but fortunately none of those states discovered that they had the right now claimed by South Carolina. The war into which we were forced, to support the dignity of the nation and the rights of our citizens, might have ended in defeat and disgrace, instead of victory and honor, if the states who supposed it a ruinous and unconstitutional measure, had thought they possessed the right of nullifying the act by which it was declared, and denying supplies for its prosecution. Hardly and unequally as those measures bore upon several members of the union, to the legislatures of none did this efficient and peaceable remedy, as it is called, suggest itself. The discovery of this important feature in our Constitution was reserved for the present day. To the statesmen of South Carolina belongs the invention, and upon the citizens of that State will unfortunately fall the evil of reducing it to practice.

If the doctrine of a state veto upon the laws of the Union carries with it internal evidence of its impracticable absurdity, our constitutional history will also afford abundant proof that it would have been repudiated with indignation, had it been proposed to form a feature in our government.

In our colonial state, although dependent on another power, we very early considered ourselves as connected by common

interest with each other. Leagues were formed for common defense, and before the Declaration of Independence we were known in our aggregate character as the UNITED COLONIES OF AMERICA. That decisive and important step was taken jointly. We declared ourselves a nation by a joint, not by several acts, and when the terms of confederation were reduced to form, it was in that of a solemn league of several states by which they agreed, that they would collectively form one nation for the purpose of conducting some certain domestic concerns and all foreign relations. In the instrument forming that union is found an article which declares that, "every state shall abide by the determination of Congress on all questions which by that confederation should be submitted to them."

Under the Confederation then, no state could legally annul a decision of the Congress, or refuse to submit to its execution; but no provision was made to enforce these decisions. Congress made requisitions, but they were not complied with. The government could not operate on individuals. They had no judiciary, no means of collecting revenue.

But the defects of the Confederation need not be detailed. Under its operation we could scarcely be called a nation. We had neither prosperity at home, nor consideration abroad. This state of things could not be endured, and our present happy Constitution was formed, but formed in vain if this fatal doctrine prevails. It was formed for important objects that are announced in the preamble, made in the name and by the authority of the people of the United States, whose delegates framed, and whose conventions approved it. The most important among these objects, that which is placed first in rank, on which all others rest, is "TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION." Now, is it possible that even if there were no express provisions giving supremacy to the Constitution and Laws of the United States over those of the states—can it be conceived that an instrument made for the purpose of "FORMING A MORE PERFECT UNION," than that of the Confederation, could be so constructed by the assembled wisdom of our country as to substitute for that confederation a form of government dependent for its existence on the local interest, the party spirit of a state, or of a prevailing faction in a state? Every man of

plain, unsophisticated understanding, who hears the question, will give such an answer as will preserve the Union. Metaphysical subtlety, in pursuit of an impracticable theory, could alone have devised one that is calculated to destroy it.

I consider then the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one state, INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNION, CONTRADICTED EXPRESSLY BY THE LETTER OF THE CONSTITUTION, UNAUTHORIZED BY ITS SPIRIT, INCONSISTENT WITH EVERY PRINCIPLE ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED, AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE GREAT OBJECT FOR WHICH IT WAS FORMED.

After this general view of the leading principle, we must examine the particular application of it which is made in the ordinance.

The preamble rests its justification on these grounds: It assumes as a fact, that the obnoxious laws, although they purport to be laws for raising revenue, were in reality intended for the protection of manufactures, which purpose it asserts to be unconstitutional; that the operation of these laws is unequal; that the amount raised by them is greater than is required by the wants of the government; and finally, that the proceeds are to be applied to objects unauthorized by the constitution. These are only causes alleged to justify an open opposition to the laws of the country, and a threat of seceding from the Union, if any attempt should be made to enforce them The first virtually acknowledges, that the law in question was passed under a power expressly given by the Constitution, to lay and collect imposts: but its constitutionality is drawn in question from the motives of those who passed it. However apparent this purpose may be in the present case, nothing can be more dangerous than to admit the position that an unconstitutional purpose, entertained by the members who assent to a law enacted under a constitutional power, shall make that law void; for how is that purpose to be ascertained? Who is to make the scrutiny? How often may bad purposes be falsely imputed—in how many cases are they concealed by false professions—in how many is no declaration of motives made? Admit this doctrine, and you give to the states an uncontrolled right to decide, and every law may

be annulled under this pretext. If, therefore, the absurd and dangerous doctrine should be admitted, that a state may annul an unconstitutional law, or one that it deems such, it will not apply to the present case.

The next objection is, that the laws in question operate unequally. This objection may be made with truth, to every law that has been or can be passed. The wisdom of man never yet contrived a system of taxation that would operate with perfect equality. If the unequal operation of a law makes it unconstitutional, and if all laws of that description may be abrogated by any state for that cause, then indeed is the Federal Constitution unworthy of the slightest effort for its preservation. We have hitherto relied on it as the perpetual bond of our Union. We have received it as the work of the assembled wisdom of the nation. We have trusted to it as to the sheet anchor of our safety in the stormy times of conflict with a foreign or domestic foe. We have looked to it with sacred awe as the palladium of our liberties, and with all the solemnities of religion have pledged to each other our lives and fortunes here, and our hopes of happiness hereafter, in its defense and support. Were we mistaken, my countrymen, in attaching this importance to the Constitution of our country? Was our devotion paid to the wretched, inefficient, clumsy contrivance which this new doctrine would make it? Did we pledge ourselves to the support of an airy nothing, a bubble that must be blown away by the first breath of disaffection? Was this self-destroying, visionary theory, the work of the profound statesmen, the exalted patriots, to whom the task of constitutional reform was entrusted? Did the name of Washington sanction, did the states ratify such an anomaly in the history of fundamental legislation? No. We were not mistaken. The letter of this great instrument is free from this radical fault: its language directly contradicts the imputation: its spirit—its evident intent, contradicts it. No; we did not err! Our Constitution does not contain the absurdity of giving power to make laws, and another power to resist them. The sages whose memory will always be reverenced, have given us a practical, and, as they hoped, a permanent constitutional compact. The father of his country did not affix his revered name

to so palpable an absurdity. Nor did the states, when they severally ratified it, do so under the impression that a veto on the laws of the United States was reserved to them, or that they could exercise it by implication. Search the debates in all their conventions—examine the speeches of the most zealous opposers of federal authority—look at the amendments that were proposed—they are all silent—not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the Union over those of the states—or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it. No—we have not erred! The Constitution is still the object of our reverence, the bond of our Union, our defense in danger, the source of our prosperity in peace. It shall descend, as we have received it, uncorrupted by sophistical construction, to posterity; and the sacrifices of local interest, of state prejudices, of personal animosities, that were made to bring it into existence, will again be patriotically offered for its support.

The two remaining objections made by the ordinance to these laws are, that the sums intended to be raised by them are greater than required, and that the proceeds will be unconstitutionally employed.

The Constitution has given expressly to Congress the right of raising revenue, and of determining the sum the public exigencies will require. The states have no control over the exercise of this right, other than that which results from the power of changing the representatives who abuse it; and thus procure redress. Congress may undoubtedly abuse this discretionary power, but the same may be said of others with which they are vested. Yet the discretion must exist somewhere. The Constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people, checked by the representatives of the states and the executive power. The South Carolina construction gives it to the Legislature, or the Convention of a single State, were neither the people of the different states, nor the states in their separate capacity, nor the chief magistrate elected by the people, have any representation. Which is the most discreet disposition of the power? I do not ask you, fellow-citizens, which is the constitutional disposition—that instrument

speaks a language not to be misunderstood. But if you were assembled in General Convention, which would you think the safest depository of this discretionary power in the last resort? Would you add a clause giving it to each of the states, or would you sanction the wise provisions already made by your Constitution? If this should be the result of your deliberations when providing for the future, are you, can you be ready, to risk all that we hold dear, to establish, for a temporary and a local purpose, that which you must acknowledge to be destructive and even absurd as a general provision? Carry out the consequences of this right vested in the different states, and you must perceive that the crisis your conduct presents at this day would recur whenever any law of the United States displeased any of the states, and we should soon cease to be a nation.

The ordinance, with the same knowledge of the future that characterizes a former objection, tells you that the proceeds of the tax will be unconstitutionally applied. If this could be ascertained with certainty, the objection would, with more propriety, be reserved for the laws so applying the proceeds, but surely cannot be urged against the law levying the duty.

These are the allegations contained in the ordinance. Examine them seriously, my fellow-citizens—judge for yourselves. I appeal to you to determine whether they are so clear, so convincing, as to leave no doubt of their correctness; and even if you should come to this conclusion, how far they justify the reckless, destructive course which you are directed to pursue. Review these objections, and the conclusions drawn from them once more. What are they? Every law then for raising revenue according to the South Carolina ordinance, may be rightfully annulled, unless it be so framed as no law ever will or can be framed. Congress have a right to pass laws for raising revenue, and each State has a right to oppose their execution—two rights directly opposed to each other—and yet is this absurdity supposed to be contained in an instrument drawn for the express purpose of avoiding collisions between the states and the general government, by an assembly of the most enlightened

statesmen and purest patriots ever embodied for a similar purpose.

In vain have these sages declared that Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises—in vain have they provided that they shall have power to pass laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry those powers into execution, that those laws and that Constitution shall be the "supreme law of the land, and that the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding." In vain have the people of the several States solemnly sanctioned these provisions, made them their paramount law, and individually sworn to support them whenever they were called to execute any office. Vain provisions! ineffectual restrictions! vile profanation of oaths! miserable mockery of legislation! if a bare majority of the voters in any one State may, on a real or supposed knowledge of the intent with which a law has been passed, declare themselves free from its operation—say here it gives too little, there too much, and operates unequally—here it suffers articles to be free that ought to be taxed—there it taxes those that ought to be free—in this case the proceeds are intended to be applied to purposes which we do not approve—in that the amount raised is more than is wanted. Congress, it is true, are invested by the Constitution with the right of deciding these questions according to their sound discretion; Congress is composed of the representatives of all the States and of all the people of all the States; but, WE, part of the people of one State, to whom the Constitution has given no power on the subject, from whom it has expressly taken it away—WE who have solemnly agreed that this Constitution shall be our law—WE, most of whom have sworn to support it—WE now abrogate this law and swear, and force others to swear, that it shall not be obeyed! And we do this, not because Congress have no right to pass such laws, this we do not allege, but because they have passed them with improper views. They are unconstitutional from the motives of those who passed them, which we can never with certainty know—from their unequal opera-

tion, although it is impossible from the nature of things that they should be equal—and from the disposition which we presume may be made of their proceeds, although that disposition has not been declared. This is the plain meaning of the ordinance in relation to laws which it abrogates for alleged unconstitutionality. But it does not stop there. It repeals, in express terms, an important part of the Constitution itself, and of laws passed to give it effect which have never been alleged to be unconstitutional. The Constitution declares that the judicial powers of the United States, extend to cases arising under the laws of the United States, and that such laws, the Constitution and treaties, shall be paramount to the State Constitutions and laws. The judiciary act prescribes the mode by which the case may be brought before a court of the United States, by appeal, when a State tribunal shall decide against this provision of the Constitution. The ordinance declares there shall be no appeal—makes the State law paramount to the Constitution and laws of the United States—forces judges and jurors to swear that they will disregard their provisions; and even makes it penal in a suitor to attempt relief by appeal. It further declares that it shall not be lawful for the authorities of the United States, or of that State to enforce the payment of duties imposed by the revenue laws within its limits.

Here is a law of the United States not even pretended to be unconstitutional, repealed by the authority of a small majority of the voters of a single State. Here is a provision of the Constitution which is solemnly abrogated by the same authority.

On such expositions and reasonings the ordinance grounds not only an assertion of the right to annul the laws of which it complains, but to enforce it by a threat of seceding from the Union if any attempt is made to execute them.

This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the Constitution, which they say is a compact between sovereign States, who have preserved their whole sovereignty, and, therefore, are subject to no superior; that because they made the compact, they can break it, when, in their opinion, it has been departed from by the other States. Fallacious as this course of reasoning is, it enlists state pride, and finds advocates in

the honest prejudices of those who have not studied the nature of our government sufficiently to see the radical error on which it rests.

The people of the United States formed the Constitution, acting through the State Legislatures in making the compact, to meet and discuss its provisions, and acting in separate Conventions when they ratified those provisions; but the terms used in its construction, show it to be a government in which the people of all the States are collectively represented. We are one people in the choice of a President and Vice-President. Here the States have no other agency than to direct the mode in which the votes shall be given. The candidates having the majority of all the votes are chosen. The electors of a majority of the States may have given their votes for one candidate, and yet another may be chosen. The people, then, and not the States, are represented in the executive branch.

In the House of Representatives there is this difference, that the people of one State do not as in the case of President and Vice-President, all vote for the same officers. The people of all the States do not vote for all the members, each State electing only its own Representatives. But this creates no material distinction. When chosen, they are all Representatives of the United States, not Representatives of the particular State from which they come. They are paid by the United States, not by the State; nor are they accountable to it for any act done in the performance of their legislative functions; and however they may, in practice, as it is their duty to do, consult and prefer the interests of their particular constituents when they come in conflict with any other partial or local interest, yet it is their first and highest duty, as Representatives of the United States, to promote the general good.

The Constitution of the United States then forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the states, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the states—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each State having expressly parted with so many powers, as to constitute jointly with the other States a single nation,

cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offense against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation, because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connexion with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offense. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure.

Because the Union was formed by compact, it is said the parties to that compact may, when they feel themselves aggrieved, depart from it, but it is precisely because it is a compact that they cannot. A compact is an agreement or binding obligation. It may by its terms have a sanction or penalty for its breach, or it may not. If it contains no sanction, it may be broken with no other consequence than moral guilt; if it have a sanction, then the breach incurs the designated or implied penalty. A league between independent nations, generally, has no sanction other than a moral one; or if it should contain a penalty, as there is no common superior, it cannot be enforced. A government, on the contrary, always has a sanction express or implied, and in our case, it is both necessarily implied and expressly given. An attempt by force of arms to destroy a government, is an offense, by whatever means the constitutional compact may have been formed; and such government has the right, by the law of self-defense, to pass acts for punishing the offender, unless that right is modified, restrained, or resumed by the constitutional act. In our system, although it is modified in the case of treason, yet authority is expressly given to pass all laws necessary to carry its powers into effect, and under this grant, provision has been

made for punishing acts which obstruct the due administration of the laws.

It would seem superfluous to add any thing to show the nature of that union which connects us; but as erroneous opinions on this subject are the foundation of doctrines the most destructive to our peace, I must give some further development to my views on this subject. No one, fellow-citizens, has a higher reverence for the reserved rights of the states, than the magistrate who now addresses you. No one would make greater personal sacrifices, or official exertions, to defend them from violation, but equal care must be taken to prevent on their part an improper interference with, or resumption of the rights they have vested in the nation. The line has not been so distinctly drawn as to avoid doubts in some cases of the exercise of power. Men of the best intentions and soundest views may differ in their construction of some parts of the Constitution; but there are others on which dispassionate reflection can leave no doubt. Of this nature appears to be the assumed right of secession. It rests, as we have seen, on the alleged undivided sovereignty of the states, and on their having formed in this sovereign capacity a compact which is called the Constitution, from which, because they made it, they have the right to secede. Both of these positions are erroneous, and some of the arguments to prove them so have been anticipated.

The states severally have not retained their entire sovereignty. It has been shown that in becoming parts of a nation, not members of a league, they surrendered many of their essential parts of sovereignty. The right to make treaties, declare war, levy taxes, exercise exclusive judicial and legislative powers, were all of them functions of sovereign power. The states, then, for all these important purposes, were no longer sovereign. The allegiance of their citizens was transferred in the first instance to the Government of the United States; they became American citizens, and owed obedience to the Constitution of the United States, and to laws made in conformity with powers it vested in Congress. This last position has not been, and cannot be denied. How then can that State be said to be

sovereign and independent whose citizens owe obedience to laws not made by it, and whose magistrates are sworn to disregard those laws, when they come in conflict with those passed by another? What shows conclusively that the states cannot be said to have reserved an undivided sovereignty, is that they expressly ceded the right to punish treason, not treason against their separate power, but treason against the United States. Treason is an offense against SOVEREIGNTY, and sovereignty must reside with the power to punish it. But the reserved rights of the states are not the less sacred because they have for the common interest made the general government the depository of these powers. The unity of our political character (as has been shown for another purpose) commenced with its very existence. Under the royal government, we had no separate character; our opposition to its oppressions began as UNITED COLONIES. We were the UNITED STATES under the Confederation, and the name was perpetuated and the Union rendered more perfect by the Federal Constitution. In none of these stages did we consider ourselves in any other light than as forming one nation. Treaties and alliances were made in the name of all. Troops were raised for the joint defense. How, then, with all these proofs, that under all changes of our position we had, for designated purposes, and with defined powers, created national governments; how is it that the most perfect of those several modes of union, should now be considered as a mere league that may be dissolved at pleasure? It is from an abuse of terms. Compact is used as synonymous with league, although the true term is not employed, because it would at once show the fallacy of the reasoning. It would not do to say that our Constitution was only a league, but, it is labored to prove it a compact, (which in one sense it is,) and then to argue that as a league is a compact, every compact between nations must of course be a league, and that from such an engagement every sovereign power has a right to recede. But it has been shown, that in this sense the States are not sovereign, and that even if they were, and the National Constitution had been formed by compact, there would be no right in any one State to exonerate itself from its obligations.

So obvious are the reasons which forbid this secession, that it is necessary only to allude to them. The Union was formed for the benefit of all. It was produced by mutual sacrifices of interests and opinion. Can those sacrifices be recalled? Can the States, who magnanimously surrendered their title to the territories of the west, recall the grant? Will the inhabitants of the inland States agree to pay the duties that may be imposed without their assent by those on the Atlantic or the gulf, for their own benefit? Shall there be a free port in one State and onerous duties in another? No one believes that any right exists in a single State to involve all the others in these and countless other evils, contrary to engagements solemnly made. Every one must see that the other States, in self-defense, must oppose it at all hazards.

These are the alternatives that are presented by the Convention; a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without the means of support; or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our Union by the secession of one of its members. When the first was proposed, it was known that it could not be listened to for a moment. It was known if force was applied to oppose the execution of the laws, that it must be repelled by force—that Congress could not, without involving itself in disgrace and the country in ruin, accede to the proposition; and yet if this is done on a given day, or if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the State is, by the ordinance, declared to be out of the Union.

The majority of a Convention assembled for the purpose, have dictated these terms, or rather its rejection of all terms, in the name of the people of South Carolina. It is true that the Governor of the State speaks of submission of their grievances to a Convention of all the States; which he says they "sincerely and anxiously seek and desire." Yet this obvious and constitutional mode of obtaining the sense of the other States on the construction of the federal compact, and amending it, if necessary, has never been attempted by those who have urged the State on to this destructive meas-

ure. The State might have proposed the call for a general convention to the other States; and Congress, if a sufficient number of them concurred, must have called it.

But the first magistrate of South Carolina, when he expressed a hope that, "on a review by Congress and the functionaries of the general government of the merits of the controversy," such a Convention will be accorded to them, must have known that neither Congress nor any functionary of the general government has authority to call such a Convention, unless it be demanded by two-thirds of the States. This suggestion, then, is another instance of a reckless inattention to the provisions of the Constitution with which this crisis has been madly hurried on; or of the attempt to persuade the people that a constitutional remedy had been sought and refused. If the Legislature of South Carolina "anxiously desire" a general convention to consider their complaints, why have they not made application for it in the way the Constitution points out? The assertion that they "earnestly seek it" is completely negatived by the omission.

This, then, is the position in which we stand. A small majority of the citizens of one State in the Union have elected delegates to a State Convention; that Convention has ordained that all the revenue laws of the United States must be repealed, or that they are no longer a member of the Union. The Governor of that State has recommended to the Legislature the raising of an army to carry the secession into effect, and that he may be empowered to give clearances to vessels in the name of the State. No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed, but such a state of things is hourly apprehended, and it is the intent of this instrument to PROCLAIM not only the duty imposed on me by the Constitution "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," shall be performed to the extent of the powers already vested in me by law, or of such others as the wisdom of Congress shall devise and entrust to me for that purpose; but to warn the citizens of South Carolina, who have been deluded into an opposition to the laws, of the danger they will incur by obedience to the illegal and disorganizing ordinance of the Convention—to exhort those who have refused to support it,

to persevere in their determination to uphold the Constitution and laws of their country—and to point out to all, the perilous situation into which the good people of that State have been led—and that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very State whose rights they effect to support.

Fellow-citizens of my native State!—let me not only admonish you, as the first Magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalty of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children, whom he saw rushing to certain ruin. In that paternal language, with that paternal feeling, let me tell you, my countrymen, that you are deluded by men who are either deceived themselves, or wish to deceive you. Mark under what pretences you have been led on to the brink of insurrection and treason, on which you stand! First, a diminution of the value of your staple commodity lowered by over production in other quarters and the consequent diminution in the value of your lands, were the sole effect of the Tariff laws. The effect of those laws was confessedly injurious, but the evil was greatly exaggerated by the unfounded theory you were taught to believe, that its burdens were in proportion to your exports, not to your consumption of imported articles. Your pride was roused by the assertion that a submission to those laws was a state of vassalage, and that resistance to them was equal, in patriotic merit, to the opposition our Fathers offered to the oppressive laws of Great Britain. You were told that this opposition might be peaceably—might be constitutionally made—that you might enjoy all the advantages of the Union and bear none of its burthens. Eloquent appeals to your passions, to your State pride, to your native courage, to your sense of real injury, were used to prepare you for the period when the mask which concealed the hideous features of DISUNION, should be taken off. It fell, and you were made to look with complacency on objects which not long since you would have regarded with horror. Look back to the arts which have brought you to this state; look forward to the consequences to which it must inevitably lead! Look back to what was first told you as an inducement to enter into this dangerous course. The great political truth was

repeated to you, that you had the revolutionary right of resisting all laws that were palpably unconstitutional and intolerably oppressive—it was added that the right to nullify a law rested on the same principle, but that it was a peaceable remedy! This character which was given to it, made you receive with too much confidence the assertions that were made of the unconstitutionality of the law and its oppressive effects.

Mark, my fellow-citizens, that by the admission of your leaders, the unconstitutionality must be palpable, or it will not justify either resistance or nullification! What is the meaning of the word *palpable* in the sense in which it is here used?—that which is apparent to every one, that which no man of ordinary intellect will fail to perceive. Is the unconstitutionality of these laws of that description? Let those among your leaders who once approved and advocated the principle of protective duties answer the question; and let them choose whether they will be considered as incapable, then, of perceiving that which must have been apparent to every man of common understanding, or as imposing upon your confidence and endeavoring to mislead you now. In either case they are unsafe guides in the perilous paths they urge you to tread. Ponder well on this circumstance, and you will know how to appreciate the exaggerated language they address to you. They are not champions of liberty, emulating the fame of our Revolutionary Fathers, nor are you an oppressed people, contending, as they repeat to you, against worse than colonial vassalage. You are free members of a flourishing and happy Union. There is no settled design to oppress you. You have indeed felt the unequal operations of laws which may have been unwisely, not unconstitutionally passed; but that inequality must necessarily be removed.

At the very moment when you were madly urged on to the unfortunate course you have begun, a change in public opinion had commenced. The nearly approaching payment of the public debt, and the consequent necessity of a diminution of duties, had already produced a considerable reduction, and that too on some articles of general consumption in your State. The importance of this change was understood, and you were authoritatively told that no further alleviation of your bur-

dens was to be expected at the very time when the condition of the country imperiously demanded such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale. But, as if apprehensive of the effect of this change in allaying your discontents, you were precipitated into the fearful state in which you now find yourselves.

I have urged you to look back to the means that were used to hurry you on to the position you have now assumed, and forward to the consequences it will produce. Something more is necessary. Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part! consider its Government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States—giving to their inhabitants the proud title of *American citizens*—protecting their commerce—securing their literature and their arts—facilitating their intercommunication—defending the frontiers—and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth! Consider the extent of its territory, its increasing and happy population, its advance in arts which render life agreeable, and the sciences which elevate the mind: see education spreading the lights of religion, humanity, and general information into every cottage in this wide extent of our Territories and States! Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support! Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say, WE, TOO, ARE CITIZENS OF AMERICA! Carolina is one of these proud States; her arms have defended her; her best blood has cemented this happy Union! And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, this happy Union we will dissolve—this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface—this free intercourse we will interrupt—these fertile fields we will deluge with blood—the protection of that glorious flag we will renounce—the very name of Americans we discard. And for what, mistaken men! for what do you throw away these inestimable blessings—for what would you exchange your share in the advantage and honor of the Union? For the dream of a separate independence—a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with you neighbors, and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are

you united at home—are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? Do our neighboring republics, every day suffering some new revolution or contending with some new insurrection—do they excite your envy? But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed.

The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution, deceived you—they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion: be not deceived by names; disunion, by armed force, is TREASON. Are you really ready to incur its guilt? If you are, on the heads of the instigators of the act, be the dreadful consequences—on their heads be the dishonor, but on yours may fall the punishment, on your unhappy State will inevitably fall all the evils of the conflict you force upon the Government of your country. It cannot accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims—its first Magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow-citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world. Its enemies have beheld our prosperity with a vexation they could not conceal—it was a standing refutation of their slavish doctrines, and they will point to our discord with a triumph of malignant joy. It is yet in your power to disappoint them. There is yet time to show that the descendants of the Pinckneys, the Sumpters, the Rutleges, and of the thousand other names which adorn the pages of your Revolutionary history, will not abandon that Union, to support which, many of them fought and bled and died. I adjure you, as you honor their memory—as you love the cause of freedom, to which they dedicated their lives—as you prize the peace of your country, the lives of its best citizens, and your own fair fame, to retrace your steps. Snatch from the archives of your State the disorganizing edict of its Convention—bid its mem-

bers to re-assemble and promulgate the decided expressions of your will to remain in the path which alone can conduct you to safety, prosperity and honor—tell them that compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that brings with it an accumulation of all—declare that you will never take the field unless the star-spangled banner of your country shall float over you—that you will not be stigmatized when dead, and dishonored and scorned while you live, as the authors of the first attack on the Constitution of your country!—Its destroyers you cannot be. You may disturb its peace—you may interrupt the course of its prosperity—you may cloud its reputation for stability—but its tranquility will be restored, its prosperity will return, and the stain upon its national character will be transferred, and remain an eternal blot on the memory of those who caused the disorder.

Fellow-citizens of the United States! The threat of unhallowed disunion—the names of those, once respected, by whom it was uttered—the array of military force to support it—denote the approach of a crisis in our affairs, on which the continuance of our unexampled prosperity, our political existence, and perhaps that of all free governments may depend. The conjuncture demanded a free, a full and explicit enunciation, not only of my intentions, but of my principles of action; and as the claim was asserted of a right by a State to annul the laws of the Union, and even to secede from it at pleasure, a frank exposition of my opinions in relation to the origin and form of our Government, and the construction I give to the instrument by which it was created, seemed to be proper. Having the fullest confidence in the justness of the legal and constitutional opinion of my duties, which has been expressed, I rely with equal confidence on your undivided support in my determination to execute the laws—to preserve the Union by all constitutional means—to arrest, if possible, by moderate but firm measures, the necessity of a recourse to force; and if it be the will of Heaven that the recurrence of its primeval curse on man for the shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, that it be not called down by any offensive act on the part of the United States.

Fellow-citizens! the momentous case is before you. On

your undivided support of your government, depends the decision of the great question it involves, whether your sacred Union will be preserved, and the blessing it secures to us as one people shall be perpetuated. No one can doubt that the unanimity with which that decision will be expressed, will be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage which it will bring to their defense, will transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children.

May the Great Ruler of nations grant that the signal blessings with which He has favored ours, may not, by the madness of party or personal ambition, be disregarded and lost: and may His wise providence bring those who have produced this crisis, to see the folly, before they feel the misery of civil strife; and inspire a returning veneration for that Union, which, if we may dare to penetrate His designs, he has chosen as the only means of attaining the high destinies to which we may reasonably aspire.

ANDREW JACKSON.

PRESIDENT JACKSON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Fellow-Citizens: Being about to retire finally from public life, I beg leave to offer you my grateful thanks for the many proofs of kindness and confidence which I have received at your hands. It has been my fortune, in the discharge of public duties, civil and military, frequently to have found myself in difficult and trying situations, where prompt decision and energetic action were necessary, and where the interests of the country required that high responsibilities should be fearlessly encountered; and it is with the deepest emotions of gratitude that I acknowledge the continued and unbroken confidence with which you have sustained me in every trial. My public life has been a long one, and I cannot hope that it has at all times been free from errors. But I have the consolation of knowing, that if mistakes have been committed, they have not seriously injured the country I so anxiously endeavored to serve; and at the moment when I surrender my last public trust, I leave this great people prosperous and happy; in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace; and honored and respected by every nation of the world.

If my humble efforts have, in any degree, contributed to preserve to you these blessings, I have been more than rewarded by the honors you have heaped upon me; and, above all, by the generous confidence with which you have supported me in every peril, and with which you have continued to animate and cheer my path to the closing hour of my political life. The time has now come, when advanced age and a broken frame warn me to retire from public concerns; but the recollection of the many favors you have bestowed upon me is engraven upon my heart, and I have felt that I could not part from your service without making this public acknowledgment of the gratitude I owe you. And if I use the occasion to offer to you the counsels of age and experience, you will, I trust, receive them with the same indulgent kindness which you have so often extended to me; and will, at least, see in them an earnest desire to perpetuate, in this favored land, the blessings of liberty and equal laws.

We have now lived almost fifty years under the Constitution framed by the sages and patriots of the Revolution. The conflicts in which the nations of Europe were engaged during a great part of this period; the spirit in which they waged war with each other; and our intimate commercial connections with every part of the civilized world, rendered it a time of much difficulty for the Government of the United States. We have had our seasons of peace and of war, with all the evils which precede or follow a state of hostility with powerful nations. We encountered these trials, with our Constitution yet in its infancy, and under the disadvantages which a new and untried government must always feel, when it is called upon to put forth its whole strength, without the lights of experience to guide it, or the weight of precedents to justify its measures. But we have passed triumphantly through all these difficulties. Our Constitution is no longer a doubtful experiment; and at the end of nearly half a century, we find that it has preserved, unimpaired, the liberties of the people, secured the rights of property, and is flourishing beyond any former example in the history of nations.

In our domestic concerns, there is every thing to encourage us; and if you are true to yourselves, nothing can impede your march to the highest point of national prosperity. The States which had so long been retarded in their improvement by the Indian tribes residing in the midst of them, are at length relieved from the evil; and this unhappy race—the original dwellers in our land—are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization, and be saved from that degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening, while they remained in the States; and while the safety and comfort of our own citizens have been greatly promoted by their removal, the philanthropist will rejoice that the remnant of that ill-fated race has been at length placed beyond the reach of injury or oppression, and that the paternal care of the General Government will hereafter watch over them and protect them.

If we turn to our relations with foreign powers, we find our condition equally gratifying. Actuated by the sincere desire to do justice to every nation, and to preserve the blessings of

peace, our intercourse with them has been conducted on the part of this government in the spirit of frankness, and I take pleasure in saying that it has generally been met in a corresponding temper. Difficulties of old standing have been surmounted by friendly discussion, and the mutual desire to be just; and the claims of our citizens, which had been long withheld, have at length been acknowledged and adjusted, and satisfactory arrangements made for their final payment; and with a limited, and I trust a temporary exception, our relations with every foreign power are now of the most friendly character—our commerce continually expanding, and our flag respected in every quarter of the world.

These cheering and grateful prospects, and these multiplied favors, we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united, and flourish under our present form of government. Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who framed it; and has proved, that in the union of these States there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom, and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard, and by every sacrifice, this union must be preserved.

The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety, for the preservation of the Union, was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the Father of his country, in his farewell address. He has there told us, that "while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bonds;" and he has cautioned us, in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb our union, and to which designing men would be likely to resort.

The lessons contained in this valuable legacy of Washington to his countrymen, should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation; and perhaps, at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment. For when we look upon the scenes that are

passing around us, and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsels would seem to be not merely the offspring of wisdom and foresight, but the voice of prophecy foretelling events and warning us of the evil to come. Forty years have passed since this imperishable document was given to his countrymen. The Federal Constitution was then regarded by him as an experiment, and he so speaks of it in his address; but an experiment upon the success of which the best hopes of his country depended, and we all know that he was prepared to lay down his life, if necessary, to secure to it a full and fair trial. The trial has been made. It has succeeded beyond the proudest hopes of those who framed it. Every quarter of this widely extended nation has felt its blessings, and shared in the general prosperity produced by its adoption. But amid this general prosperity and splendid success, the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We hold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the *South* against the *North*, and the *North* against the *South*, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics; topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotions. Appeals too, are constantly made to sectional interests, in order to influence the election of the Chief Magistrate, as if it were desired that he should favor a particular quarter of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of his station with impartial justice to all; and the possible dissolution of the Union, has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion. Has the warning voice of Washington been forgotten? or have designs already been formed to sever the Union? Let it not be supposed that I impute to all of those who have taken an active part in these unwise and unprofitable discussions, a want of patriotism or of public virtue. The honorable feeling of State pride, and local attachments, find a place in the bosoms of the most enlightened and pure. But while such men are conscious of their own integrity and honesty of

purpose, they ought never to forget that the citizens of other states are their political brethren; and that, however mistaken they may be in their views, the great body of them are equally honest and upright with themselves. Mutual suspicions and reproaches may in time create mutual hostility, and artful and designing men will always be found, who are ready to foment these fatal divisions, and to inflame the natural jealousies of different sections of the country. The history of the world is full of such examples, and especially the history of republics.

What have you to gain by division and dissension? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made, may be afterwards repaired. If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will then be tried in fields of battle, and be determined by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope, that the first line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations, formed upon the dissolution of this Union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe; the memory of victories won by their united valor; the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present Constitution; the proud name they bear as citizens of this great republic; if all these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold united the new divisions of empire, when these bonds have been broken and this Union dissevered? The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up; and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty States; armed for mutual aggression; loaded with taxes to pay armies and leaders; seeking aid against each other from foreign powers; insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe, until, harassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and to surrender their liberty for the sake

of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this government, and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the Union, and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties

There is too much at stake to allow pride or passion to influence your decision. Never for a moment believe that the great body of the citizens of any State or States can deliberately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mistakes; they may be misled for a time by the suggestions of self-interest; but in a community so enlightened and patriotic as the people of the United States, argument will soon make them sensible of their errors; and when convinced, they will be ready to repair them. If they have no higher or better motives to govern them, they will at least perceive that their own interest requires them to be just to others, as they hope to receive justice at their hands.

But in order to maintain the Union unimpaired, it is absolutely necessary that the laws passed by the constituted authorities, should be faithfully executed in every part of the country, and that every good citizen should, at all times, stand ready to put down, with the combined force of the nation, every attempt at unlawful resistance, under whatever pretext it may be made, or whatever shape it may assume. Unconstitutional or oppressive laws may no doubt be passed by Congress, either from erroneous views, or the want of due consideration; if they are within reach of judicial authority, the remedy is easy and peaceful; and if, from the character of the law, it is an abuse of power not within the control of the judiciary, then free discussion and calm appeals to reason and to the justice of the people, will not fail to redress the wrong. But until the law shall be declared void by the courts, or repealed by Congress, no individual or combination of individuals, can be justified in forcibly resisting its execution. It is impossible that any government can continue to exist upon any other principles. It would cease to be a government and be unworthy of the name, if it had not the power to enforce the execution of its own laws within its own sphere of action.

It is true that cases may be imagined, disclosing such a settled purpose of usurpation and oppression, on the part of the Government, as would justify an appeal to arms. These, however, are extreme cases, which we have no reason to apprehend in a Government where the power is in the hands of a patriotic people; and no citizen who loves his country would, in any case whatever, resort to forcible resistance, unless he clearly saw that the time had come when a freeman should prefer death to submission; for if such a struggle is once begun, and the citizens of one section of the country arrayed in arms against those of another, in doubtful conflict, let the battle result as it may, there will be an end of the Union, and with it an end of the hopes of freedom. The victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; it would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin.

But the Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government. The foundations must be laid in the affections of the people; in the security it gives to life, liberty, character and property in every quarter of the country; and in the fraternal attachments which the citizens of the several States bear to one another, as members of one political family, mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other. Hence, the citizens of every State should studiously avoid every thing calculated to wound the sensibility or offend the just pride of the people of other States; and they should frown upon any proceedings within their own borders likely to disturb the tranquility of their political brethren in other portions of the Union. In a country so extensive as the United States, and with pursuits so varied, the internal regulations of the several States must frequently differ from one another in important particulars; and this difference is unavoidably increased by the varying principles upon which the American Colonies were originally planted; principles which had taken deep root in their social relations before the Revolution, and therefore, of necessity, influencing their policy since they became free and independent States. But each State has the unquestionable right to

regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure; and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness; and all efforts on the part of the people of other States to cast odium upon their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquility, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was formed, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned for this unwarrantable interference; and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race; but every one, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured, that the men found busy in this work of discord are not worthy of your confidence, and deserve your strongest reprobation.

In the legislation of Congress, also, and in every measure of the General Government, justice to every portion of the United States should be faithfully observed. No free government can stand without virtue in the people, and a lofty spirit of patriotism; and if the sordid feelings of mere selfishness shall usurp the place which ought to be filled by public spirit, the legislation of Congress will soon be converted into a scramble for personal and sectional advantages. Under our free institutions, the citizens of every quarter of our country are capable of attaining a high degree of prosperity and happiness, without seeking to profit themselves at the expense of others; and every such attempt must, in the end, fail to succeed; for the people in every part of the United States are too enlightened not to understand their own rights and interests, and to detect and defeat every effort to gain undue advantages over them; and when such designs are discovered, it naturally provokes resentments which cannot always be allayed. Justice, full and ample justice, to every portion of the United States, should be the ruling principle of every freeman, and

should guide the deliberations of every public body, whether it be state or national.

It is well known that there have always been those among us who wish to enlarge the powers of the General Government; and experience would seem to indicate that there is a tendency on the part of this Government to overstep the boundaries marked out for it by the Constitution. Its legitimate authority is abundantly sufficient for all the purposes for which it was created: and its powers being expressly enumerated, there can be no justification for claiming anything beyond them. Every attempt to exercise power beyond these limits should be promptly and firmly opposed. For one evil example will lead to other measures still more mischievous; and if the principle of constructive powers, or supposed advantages, or temporary circumstances, shall ever be permitted to justify the assumption of a power not given by the Constitution, the General Government will before long absorb all the powers of legislation, and you will have, in effect, but one consolidated government. From the extent of our country, its diversified interests, different pursuits, and different habits, it is too obvious for argument that a single consolidated government would be wholly inadequate to watch over and protect its interests; and every friend of our free institutions should be always prepared to maintain unimpaired and in full vigor the rights and sovereignty of the States, and to confine the action of the General Government strictly to the sphere of its appropriate duties.

There is, perhaps, no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. The most productive and convenient sources of revenue were necessarily given to it, that it might be able to perform the important duties imposed upon it; and the taxes which it lays upon commerce being concealed from the real payer in the price of the article, they do not so readily attract the attention of the people as smaller sums demanded from them directly by the tax-gatherer. But the tax imposed on goods, enhances by so much the price of the commodity to the consumer; and as many of these duties are imposed on articles of necessity which are daily used by the great body of the people, the money

raised by these imposts is drawn from their pockets. Congress has no right under the Constitution to take money from the people, unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers entrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes, it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive. It may indeed happen that the revenue will sometimes exceed the amount anticipated when the taxes were laid. When, however, this is ascertained, it is easy to reduce them; and, in such a case, it is unquestionably the duty of the Government to reduce them, for no circumstances can justify it in assuming a power not given to it by the Constitution, nor in taking away the money of the people when it is not needed for the legitimate wants of the Government.

Plain as these principles appear to be, you will yet find that there is a constant effort to induce the General Government to go beyond the limits of its taxing power, and to impose unnecessary burdens upon the people. Many powerful interests are continually at work to procure heavy duties on commerce, and to swell the revenue beyond the real necessities of the public service; and the country has already felt the injurious effects of their combined influence. They succeeded in obtaining a tariff of duties bearing most oppressively on the agricultural and laboring classes of society, and producing a revenue that could not be usefully employed within the range of the powers conferred upon Congress; and in order to fasten upon the people this unjust and unequal system of taxation, extravagant schemes of internal improvement were got up in various quarters, to squander the money and to purchase support. Thus, one unconstitutional measure was intended to be upheld by another, and the abuse of the power of taxation was to be maintained by usurping the power of expending the money in internal improvements. You cannot have forgotten the severe and doubtful struggle through which we passed, when the executive department of the Government, by its veto, endeavored to arrest the prodigal scheme of injustice, and to bring back the legislation of Congress to the boundaries prescribed by the Constitution. The good sense and practical judgment of the people, when the subject was brought before them, sustained

the course of the executive, and this plan of unconstitutional expenditure for the purposes of corrupt influence is, I trust, finally overthrown.

The result of this decision has been felt in the rapid extinguishment of the public debt, and the large accumulation of a surplus in the treasury, notwithstanding the tariff was reduced, and is now far below the amount originally contemplated by its advocates. But, rely upon it, the design to collect an extravagant revenue, and to burden you with taxes beyond the economical wants of the government, is not yet abandoned. The various interests which have combined together to impose a heavy tariff, and to produce an overflowing treasury, are too strong, and have too much at stake, to surrender the contest. The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor, and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure, for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters; and since the people have decided that the Federal Government cannot be permitted to employ its income in internal improvements, efforts will be made to seduce and mislead the citizens of the several States, by holding out to them the deceitful prospect of benefits to be derived from a surplus revenue collected by the General Government, and annually divided among the States. And if, encouraged by these fallacious hopes, the States should disregard the principles of economy which ought to characterize every republican government, and should indulge in lavish expenditures exceeding their resources, they will, before long, find themselves oppressed with debts which they are unable to pay, and the temptation will become irresistible to support a high tariff, in order to obtain a surplus distribution. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow-citizens, to be misled on this subject. The Federal Government cannot collect a surplus for such purposes, without violating the principles of the Constitution, and assuming powers which have not been granted. It is, moreover, a system of injustice, and, if persisted in, will inevitably lead to corruption, and must end in ruin. The surplus revenue will be drawn from the pockets of the people—from the farmer, the mechan-

ic, and the laboring classes of society; but who will receive it when distributed among the States, where it is to be disposed of by leading State politicians who have friends to favor, and political partisans to gratify? It will certainly not be returned to those who paid it, and who have most need of it, and are honestly entitled to it. There is but one safe rule, and that is, to confine the General Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. It has no power to raise a revenue, or impose taxes, except for the purposes enumerated in the Constitution; and if its income is found to exceed these wants, it should be forthwith reduced, and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

In reviewing the conflicts which have taken place between different interests in the United States, and the policy pursued since the adoption of our present form of government, we find nothing that has produced such deep-rooted evil as the course of legislation in relation to the currency. The Constitution of the United States unquestionably intended to secure the people a circulating medium of gold and silver. But the establishment of a National Bank by Congress, with the privilege of issuing paper money receivable in payment of the public dues, and the unfortunate cause of legislation in the several States upon the same subject, drove from general circulation the constitutional currency, and substituted one of paper in its place.

It was not easy for men engaged in the ordinary pursuits of business, whose attention had not been particularly drawn to the subject, to forsee all the consequences of a currency exclusively of paper; and we ought not, on that account, to be surprised at the facility with which laws were obtained to carry into effect the paper system. Honest, and even enlightened men, are sometimes misled by the specious and plausible statements of the designing. But experience has now proved the mischiefs and dangers of a paper currency, and it rests with you to determine whether the proper remedy shall be applied.

The paper system, being founded on public confidence, and having of itself no intrinsic value, it is liable to great and sudden fluctuations, thereby rendering property insecure, and the wages of labor unsteady and uncertain. The corporations which create the paper money cannot be relied upon to keep

the circulating medium uniform in amount. In times of prosperity, when confidence is high, they are tempted by the prospect of gain, or by the influence of those who hope to profit by it, to extend their issue of paper beyond the bounds of discretion and the reasonable demands of business. And when these issues have been pushed on, from day to day, until public confidence is at length shaken, then a reaction takes place, and they immediately withdraw the credits they have given; suddenly curtail their issues, and produce an unexpected and ruinous contraction of the circulating medium, which is felt by the whole community. The banks by this means save themselves, and the mischievous consequences of their imprudence or cupidity are visited on the public. Nor does the evil stop here. These ebbs and flows in the currency, and these indiscreet extensions of credit, naturally engender a spirit of speculation injurious to the habits and character of the people. We have already seen its effects in the wild spirit of speculation in the public lands and various kinds of stocks, which within the last year or two, seized upon such a multitude of our citizens and threatened to pervade all classes of society, and to withdraw their attention from the sober pursuits of honest industry. It is not by encouraging this spirit that we shall best preserve public virtue, and promote the true interests of our country. But if your currency continues as exclusively paper as it now is, it will foster this eager desire to amass wealth without labor; it will multiply the number of dependents on bank accommodations and bank favors; the temptation to obtain money at any sacrifice, will become stronger and stronger, and inevitably lead to corruption, which will find its way into your public councils, and destroy, at no distant day, the purity of your government. Some of the evils which arise from this system of paper, press with peculiar hardship upon the class of society least able to bear it. A portion of this currency frequently becomes depreciated or worthless, and all of it is easily counterfeited, in such a manner as to require peculiar skill and much experience to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine notes.

These frauds are most generally perpetrated in the smaller notes, which are used in the daily transactions of ordinary

business; and the losses occasioned by them are commonly thrown upon the laboring classes of society, whose situation and pursuits put it out of their power to guard themselves from these impositions, and whose daily wages are necessary for their subsistence. It is the duty of every government, so to regulate its currency as to protect this numerous class, as far as practicable, from the impositions of avarice and fraud. It is more especially the duty of the United States, where the government is emphatically the government of the people, and where this respectable portion of our citizens are so proudly distinguished from the laboring classes of all other nations by their independent spirit, their love of liberty, their intelligence, and their high tone of moral character. Their industry in peace is the source of our wealth; their bravery in war has covered us with glory; and the Government of the United States will but ill discharge its duties, if it leaves them a prey to such dishonest impositions. Yet it is evident that their interests cannot be effectually protected, unless silver and gold are restored to circulation.

These views, alone, of the paper currency, are sufficient to call for immediate reform; but there is another consideration which should still more strongly press it upon your attention.

Recent events have proved that the paper money system of this country may be used as an engine to undermine your free institutions; and that those who desire to engross all power in the hands of a few, and to govern by corruption or force, are aware of its power, and prepared to employ it. Your banks now furnish your only circulating medium, and money is plenty or scarce, according to the quantity of notes issued by them. While they have capitals not greatly disproportionate to each other, they are competitors in business, and no one of them can exercise dominion over the rest; and although, in the present state of the currency, these banks may and do operate injuriously upon the habits of business, the pecuniary concerns, and the moral tone of society; yet from their numbers and dispersed situation, they cannot combine for the purposes of political influence; and whatever may be the disposition of some of them, their power of mischief must necesarily

be confined to a narrow space, and felt only in their immediate neighborhoods.

But when the charter for the Bank of the United States was obtained from Congress, it perfected the schemes of the paper system, and gave to its advocates the position they have struggled to obtain from the commencement of the Federal Government down to the present hour. The immense capital and peculiar privileges bestowed upon it, enabled it to exercise despotic sway over the other banks in every part of the country. From its superior strength, it could seriously injure, if not destroy, the business of any one of them which might incur its resentment; and it openly claimed for itself the power of regulating the currency throughout the United States. In other words, it asserted (and undoubtedly possessed) the power to make money plenty or scarce, at its pleasure, at any time, and in any quarter of the Union, by controlling the issues of other banks, and permitting an expansion, or compelling a general contraction of the circulating medium, according to its will. The other banking institutions were sensible of its strength, and they soon generally became its obedient instruments, ready at all times to execute its mandates; and with the banks necessarily went also that numerous class of persons in our commercial cities who depend altogether on bank credits for their solvency and means of business, and who are therefore obliged, for their own safety, to propitiate the favor of the money power by distinguished zeal and devotion in its service. The result of the ill-advised legislation which established this great monopoly, was to concentrate the whole moneyed power of the Union, with its boundless means of corruption, and its numerous dependents, under the direction and command of one acknowledged head; thus organizing this particular interest as one body, and securing to it unity and concert of action throughout the United States, and enabling it to bring forward, upon any occasion, its entire and undivided strength to support or defeat any measure of the Government. In the hands of this formidable power, thus perfectly organized, was also placed unlimited dominion over the amount of the circulating medium, giving it the power to

regulate the value of property and the fruits of labor in every quarter of the Union; and to bestow prosperity, or bring ruin, upon any city or section of the country, as might best comport with its own interest or policy.

We are not left to conjecture how the moneyed power, thus organized, and with such a weapon in its hands, would be likely to use it. The distress and alarm which pervaded and agitated the whole country, when the Bank of the United States waged war upon the people in order to compel them to submit to its demands, cannot yet be forgotten The ruthless and unsparing temper with which whole cities and communities were oppressed, individuals impoverished and ruined, and a scene of cheerful prosperity suddenly changed into one of gloom and despondency, ought to be indelibly impressed on the memory of the people of the United States. If such was its power in a time of peace, what would it not have been in a season of war, with an enemy at your doors? No nation but the freemen of the United States could have come out victorious from such a contest; yet, if you had not conquered, the Government would have passed from the hands of the many to the hands of the few; and this organized money power, from its secret conclave, would have dictated the choice of your highest officers, and compelled you to make peace or war, as best suited their own wishes. The forms of your Government might for a time have remained, but its living spirit would have departed from it.

The distress and sufferings inflicted on the people by the Bank are some of the fruits of that system of policy which is continually striving to enlarge the authority of the Federal Government beyond the limits fixed by the Constitution. The powers enumerated in that instrument do not confer on Congress the right to establish such a corporation as the Bank of the United States: and the evil consequences which followed may warn us of the danger of departing from the true rule of construction, and of permitting temporary circumstances, or the hope of better promoting the public welfare, to influence in any degree our decisions upon the extent of the authority of the General Government. Let us abide by the Constitution

as it is written, or amend it in the constitutional mode, if it is found to be defective.

The severe lessons of experience will, I doubt not, be sufficient to prevent Congress from again chartering such a monopoly, even if the Constitution did not present an insuperable objection to it. But you must remember, my fellow-citizens, that eternal vigilance by the people is the price of liberty; and that you must pay the price if you wish to secure the blessing. It behooves you, therefore, to be watchful in your States, as well as in the Federal Government. The power which the moneyed interests can exercise, when concentrated under a single head and with our present system of currency, was sufficiently demonstrated in the struggle made by the Bank of the United States. Defeated in the General Government, the same class of intriguers and politicians will now resort to the States, and endeavor to obtain there the same organization, which they failed to perpetuate in the Union; and with specious and deceitful plans of public advantages, and State interests, and State pride, they will endeavor to establish, in the different States, one moneyed institution with overgrown capital, and exclusive privileges, sufficient to enable it to control the operations of the other Banks. Such an institution will be pregnant with the same evils produced by the Bank of the United States, although its sphere of action is more confined; and in the State in which it is chartered, the money power will be able to embody its whole strength, and to move together with undivided force, to accomplish any object it may wish to attain. You have already had abundant evidence of its power to inflict injury upon the agricultural, mechanical, and laboring classes of society; and over those whose engagements in trade or speculation render them dependent on bank facilities, the dominion of the State monopoly will be absolute, and their obedience unlimited. With such a Bank, and a paper currency, the money power would in a few years govern the State and control its measures; and if a sufficient number of States can be induced to create such establishments, the time will soon come when it will again take the field against the United States, and succeed in perfecting and perpetuating its organization by a charter from Congress.

It is one of the serious evils of our present system of banking, that it enables one class of society—and that by no means a numerous one—by its control over the currency, to act injuriously upon the interests of all the others, and to exercise more than its just proportion of influence in political affairs. The agricultural, the mechanical, and the laboring classes, have little or no share in the direction of the great moneyed corporations; and from their habits and the nature of their pursuits, they are incapable of forming extensive combinations to act together with united force. Such concert of action may sometimes be produced in a single city, or in a small district of country, by means of personal communications with each other; but they have no regular or active correspondence with those who are engaged in similar pursuits in distant places; they have but little patronage to give to the press, and exercise but a small share of influence over it; they have no crowd of dependents about them, who hope to grow rich without labor, by their countenance and favor, and who are, therefore, always ready to execute their wishes. The planter, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, all know that their success depends upon their own industry and economy, and that they must not expect to become suddenly rich by the fruits of their toil. Yet these classes of society form the great body of the people of the United States; they are the bone and sinew of the country; men who love liberty, and desire nothing but equal rights and equal laws, and who, moreover, hold the great mass of our national wealth, although it is distributed in moderate amounts among the millions of freemen who possess it. But with overwhelming numbers and wealth on their side, they are in constant danger of losing their fair influence in the Government, and with difficulty maintain their just rights against the incessant efforts daily made to encroach upon them.

The mischief springs from the power which the moneyed interest derives from a paper currency, which they are able to control, from the multitude of corporations with exclusive privileges, which they have succeeded in obtaining in the different States, and which are employed altogether for their ben-

efit, and unless you become more watchful in your States, and check this spirit of monopoly and thirst for exclusive privileges, you will, in the end, find that the most important powers of government have been given or bartered away, and the control over our dearest interests have passed into the hands of these corporations.

The paper money system, and its natural associates, monopoly and exclusive privileges, have already struck their roots deep in the soil; and it will require all your efforts to check its farther growth, and to eradicate the evil. The men who profit by the abuses, and desire to perpetuate them, will continue to besiege the halls of legislation in the General Government, as well as in the States, and will seek, by every artifice, to mislead and deceive the public servants. It is to yourselves that you must look for safety and the means of guarding and perpetuating your free institutions. In your hands is rightfully placed the sovereignty of the country, and to you every one placed in authority is ultimately responsible. It is always in your power to see that the wishes of the people are carried into faithful execution, and their will, when once made known, must sooner or later be obeyed. And while the people remain, as I trust they ever will, uncorrupted and incorruptible, and continue watchful and jealous of their rights, the Government is safe, and the cause of freedom will continue to triumph over all its enemies. But it will require steady and persevering exertions on your part to rid yourselves of the iniquities and mischiefs of the paper system, and to check the spirit of monopoly and other abuses, which have sprung up with it, and of which it is the main support. So many interests are united to resist all reform on this subject that you must not hope the conflict will be a short one, nor success easy. My humble efforts have not been spared, during my administration of the Government, to restore the constitutional currency of gold and silver; and something, I trust, has been done toward the accomplishment of this most desirable object. But enough yet remains to require all your energy and perseverance. The power, however, is in your hands, and the remedy must and will be applied if you determine upon it.

While I am thus endeavoring to press upon your attention the principles which I deem of vital importance to the domestic concerns of the country, I ought not to pass over without notice the important considerations which should govern your policy toward foreign powers. It is unquestionably our true interest to cultivate the most friendly understanding with every nation; to avoid, by every honorable means, the calamities of war; and we shall best attain this object by frankness and sincerity in our foreign intercourse, by the prompt and faithful execution of treaties, and by justice and impartiality in our conduct to all. But no nation, however desirous of peace, can hope to escape collisions with other powers; and the soundest dictates of policy require that we should place ourselves in a condition to assert our rights, if a resort to force should ever become necessary. Our local situation, our long line of seacoast, indented by numerous bays, with deep rivers opening into the interior, as well as our extended and still increasing commerce, point to the navy as our natural means of defense. It will, in the end, be found to be cheapest and most effectual; and now is the time, in the season of peace, and with an overflowing revenue, that we can year after year add to its strength without increasing the burthens of the people. It is your true policy. For your navy will not only protect your rich and flourishing commerce in distant seas, but enable you to reach and annoy the enemy, and will give to defense its greatest efficiency by meeting danger at a distance from home. It is impossible by any line of fortifications to guard every point from attack against a hostile force advancing from the ocean and selecting its object; but they are indispenable to protect cities from bombardment; dock-yards and navy arsenals from destruction; to give shelter to merchant vessels in time of war, and to single ships or weaker squadrons when pressed by superior force. Fortifications of this description cannot be too soon completed and armed, and placed in a condition of the most perfect preparation. The abundant means we now possess cannot be applied in any manner more useful to the country; and when this is done, and our naval force sufficiently strengthened, and our military armed, we need not

fear that any nation will wantonly insult us, or needlessly provoke hostilities. We shall most certainly preserve peace, when it is well understood that we are prepared for war.

In presenting to you, my fellow-citizens, these parting counsels, I have brought before you the leading principles upon which I endeavored to administer the government in the high office with which you twice honored me. Knowing that the path of freedom is continually beset by enemies, who often assume the disguise of friends, I have devoted the last hours of my public life to warn you of the dangers. The progress of the United States, under our free and happy institutions, has surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the founders of the Republic. Our growth has been rapid beyond all former example, in numbers, in wealth, in knowledge, and all the useful arts which contribute to the comforts and convenience of man; and from the earliest ages of history to the present day, there never have been thirteen millions of people associated together in one political body, who enjoyed so much freedom and happiness as the people of these United States. You have no longer any cause to fear danger from abroad; your strength and power are well known throughout the civilized world, as well as the high and gallant bearing of your sons. It is from within, among yourselves, from cupidity, from corruption, from disappointed ambition, and inordinate thirst for power, that factions will be formed and liberty endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves. You have the highest of human trusts committed to your care. Providence has showered on this favored land blessings without number, and has chosen you as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race. May He, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, make you worthy of the favors he has bestowed, and enable you, with pure hearts, and pure hands, and sleepless vigilance, to guard and defend to the end of time the great charge he has committed to your keeping.

My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that before long I must pass beyond the reach of hu-

man events, and cease to feel the vicissitudes of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in a land of liberty, and that he has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son. And filled with gratitude for your constant and unwavering kindness, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell.

ANDREW JACKSON.

GENERAL JACKSON'S LETTER TO COMMODORE ELLIOTT, DECLINING A SARCOPHAGUS.

HERMITAGE, March 27, 1845.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 18th instant, together with a copy of the proceedings of the National Institute, furnished me by their corresponding secretary, on the presentation, by you, of the Sarcophagus for their acceptance, on condition it shall be preserved, and in honor of my memory, have been received, and are now before me.

Although laboring under great debility and affliction, from a severe attack from which I may not recover, I raise my pen and endeavor to reply. The steadiness of my nerves may perhaps lead you to conclude my prostration of strength is not so great as here expressed. Strange as it may appear, my nerves are as steady as they were forty years gone by; whilst, from debility and affliction, I am gasping for breath.

I have read the whole proceedings of the presentation, by you, of the Sarcophagus, and the resolutions passed by the Board of Directors, so honorable to my fame, with sensations and feelings more easily to be conjectured, than by me expressed. The whole proceedings call for my most grateful thanks, which are hereby tendered to you, and through you to the President and Directors of the National Institute. But with the warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or a king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of govern-

ment forbids it. Every monument erected to perpetuate the memory of our heroes and statesmen ought to bear evidence of the economy and simplicity of our republican institutions, and the plainness of our republican citizens, who are the sovereigns of our glorious Union, and whose virtue is to perpetuate it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions; it can only dwell with the people—the great laboring and producing classes that form the bone and sinew of our confederacy.

For these reasons I cannot accept the honor you and the President and Directors of the National Institute intended to bestow. I cannot permit my remains to be the first in these United States to be deposited in a sarcophagus made for an emperor or king. I again repeat, please accept for yourself, and convey to the President and Directors of the National Institute, my most profound respects for the honor you and they intended to bestow. I have prepared a humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without any pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid; for both of us there to remain until the last trumpet sounds to call the dead to judgment, when we, I hope, shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all who believe in our glorious Redeemer, who died for us that we might live, and by whose atonement I hope for a blessed immortality.

I am, with great respect,

your friend and fellow-citizen,

ANDREW JACKSON.

To Commodore J. D. Elliott, United States Navy.

CHAPTER VIII.

REMARKS OF HON. DANIEL WEBSTER, AT THE MEETING OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ON THE DEATH OF GENERAL JACKSON.

"NOTHING could be more natural or proper than that this Society should take a respectful notice of the decease of so distinguished a member of its body. Accustomed occasionally to meet the Society, and to enjoy the communications that are made to it, and proceed from it, illustrative of the history of the country and its government, I have pleasure in being present at this time also, and on this occasion, in which an element so mournful mingles itself. Gen. Andrew Jackson has been from an early period conspicuous in the service and in the councils of the country, though not without long intervals, so far as respects his connection with the General Government. It is fifty years, I think, since he was a member of the Congress of the United States, and at the instant, sir, I do not know whether there be living an associate of General Jackson in the House of Representatives of the United States at that day, with the exception of the distinguished and venerable gentleman who is now President of this Society. I recollect only of the Congress of '96, at this moment now living, but one—Mr. Gallatin—though I may be mistaken. Gen. Jackson, Mr. President, while he lived, and his memory and character, now that he is deceased, are presented to his country and the world in different views and relations. He was a soldier—a general officer—and acted no unimportant part in that capacity. He was raised by repeated elections to the highest stations in the civil government of his country, and acted a part certainly not obscure or unimportant in that character and capacity.

In regard to his military services, I participate in the gene-

ral sentiment of the whole country, and I believe of the world. That he was a soldier of dauntless courage—great daring and perseverance—an officer of skill and arrangement and foresight, are truths universally admitted. During the period in which he administered the General Government of the country, it was my fortune, during the whole period of it, to be a member of the Congress of the United States, and as it is well known, it was my misfortune not to be able to concur with many of the most important measures of his administration. Entertaining himself, his own views, and with a power of impressing his own views to a remarkable degree, upon the conviction and approbation of others, he pursued such a course as he thought expedient in the circumstances in which he was placed. Entertaining on many questions of great importance, different opinions, it was of course my misfortune to differ from him, and that difference gave me great pain, because, in the whole course of my public life, it has been far more agreeable to me to support the measures of the Government than be called upon by my judgment and sense of what is to be done to oppose them. I desire to see the Government acting with an unity of spirit in all things relating to its foreign relations, especially, and generally in all great measures of domestic policy, as far as is consistent with the exercise of perfect independence among its members. But if it was my misfortune to differ from General Jackson on many, or most of the great measures of his administration, there were occasions, and those not unimportant, in which I felt it my duty, and according to the highest sense of that duty, to conform to his opinions, and support his measures. There were junctures in his administration—periods which I thought important and critical—in which the views he thought proper to adopt, corresponded entirely with my sentiments in regard to the protection of the best interests of the country, and the institutions under which we live; and it was my humble endeavor on these occasions to yield to his opinions and measures, the same cordial support as if I had not differed from him before, and expected never to differ from him again.

That General Jackson was a marked character—that he had a very remarkable influence over other men's opinions—that

he had great perseverance and resolution in civil as well as in military administration, all admit. Nor do I think that the candid among mankind will ever doubt that it was his desire—mingled with whatsoever portion of a disposition to be himself instrumental in that exaltation—to elevate his country to the highest prosperity and honor. There is one sentiment, to which I particularly recur, always with a feeling of approbation and gratitude. From an earlier period of his undertaking to administer the affairs of the government, he uttered a sentiment dear to me—expressive of a truth of which I am most profoundly convinced—a sentiment setting forth the necessity, the duty, and the patriotism of maintaining the union of these States. Mr. President, I am old enough to recollect the deaths of all the Presidents of the United States who have departed this life, from Washington down. There is no doubt that the death of an individual, who has been so much the favorite of his country, and partaken so largely of its regard as to fill that high office, always produces—has produced, hitherto, a strong impression upon the public mind. That is right. It is right that such should be the impression upon the whole community, embracing those who particularly approved, and those who did not particularly approve the political course of the deceased.

All these distinguished men have been chosen of their country. They have fulfilled their station and duties upon the whole, in the series of years that have gone before us, in a manner reputable and distinguished. Under their administration, in the course of fifty or sixty years, the government, generally speaking, has prospered, and under the government, the people have prospered. It becomes, then, all to pay respect when men thus honored are called to another world. Mr. President, we may well indulge the hope and belief, that it was the feeling of the distinguished person who is the subject of these resolutions, in the solemn days and hours of closing life—that it was his wish, if he had committed few or more errors in the administration of the government, their influence might cease with him; and that whatever of good he had done, might be perpetuated. Let us cherish the same sentiment. Let us act upon the same feeling; and whatever of true honor

and glory he acquired, let us all hope that it will be his inheritance forever! And whatever of good example, or good principle, or good administration, he has established, let us hope that the benefit of it may also be perpetual."

REMARKS OF HON. REVERDY JOHNSON, OF MARYLAND, WHIG SENATOR IN CONGRESS, BEFORE THE MARYLAND COURT OF APPEALS, IN ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF GENERAL JACKSON.

May it please the Court—I rise to announce to the Court the death of a great American, and to ask, in behalf of my brethren of the bar, as a respect justly due to his memory, that the Court at once adjourn.

Andrew Jackson is no more. A long and trying illness is at last terminated, and his spirit has winged its flight, I trust, to heaven. The life and character of the deceased have for many years filled a large space in the public eye; and perhaps no man has ever lived amongst us, whose popularity or influence with the American people was deeper seated, or more commanding.

I need not inform the Court, that the administration of the General Government by this eminent citizen, during his Presidency, in almost every particular of it, except his noble stand against the perilous and unconstitutional doctrine of nullification, did not receive the approval of a large political party of the country; but as a member of that party, I never doubted that he was in heart and soul a patriot, deeply attached to the free institutions under which we live, and ardently solicitous for the honor and prosperity of the nation.

It is a redeeming trait in the character of our people, and greatly diminishes the mischiefs of mere party spirit, that we instinctively, when the nation is called upon to vindicate its honor, are found, to a man, united; and that on the death of a great and patriotic citizen, we are alike found, without regard to party, joining in a national lamentation at the afflictive event.

In this instance, there were in the eventful life of the deceased, deeds of service rendered the country, by which we all feel that the national glory was eminently subserved.

His military course seemed to know no disaster. With him, to go to battle was to go to victory. Whether warring at the head of American troops, with the cunning and daring of savage valor, or with the bravery and skill of the best disciplined army of the European world, the result was ever the same—a TRIUMPH. The crowning glory of his military life, the BATTLE OF NEW-ORLEANS, whilst it immeasurably increases the fame of our arms, will, in all future time, serve as a beacon to protect our soil from hostile tread.

In honor of such a man, it is fit that, in every portion of this great nation, due respect should be shown to his memory; and I therefore move the Court to gratify the feelings of the bar, as I am sure they will their own, by adjourning for the day.

EULOGY ON ANDREW JACKSON, AT HIS FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES AT WASHINGTON, BY HON. GEORGE BANCROFT, SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE men of the American Revolution are no more. That age of creative power has passed away. The last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence has long since left the earth. Washington lies near his own Potomac, surrounded by his family and servants. Adams, the colossus of independence, reposes in the modest grave-yard of his native region. Jefferson sleeps on the heights of his own Monticello, whence his eye overlooked his beloved Virginia. Madison, the last survivor of the men who made our Constitution, lives only in our hearts. But who shall say that the heroes, in whom the image of God shone most brightly, do not live for ever? They were filled with the vast conceptions which called America into being; they lived for those conceptions; and their deeds praise them.

We are met to commemorate the virtues of one who shed his blood for our independence, took part in winning the territory and forming the early institutions of the West, and was imbued with all the great ideas which constitute the moral force of our country. On the spot where he gave his solemn fealty to the people—here, where he pledged himself before the world to Freedom, to the Constitution, and to the laws—we meet to pay our tribute to the memory of the last great name, which gathers round itself all the associations that form the glory of America.

South Carolina gave a birth-place to ANDREW JACKSON. On its remote frontier, far up on the forest-clad banks of the Catawba, in a region where the settlers were just beginning to cluster, his eye first saw the light. There his infancy sported in the ancient forests, and his mind was nursed to freedom by their influence. He was the youngest son of an Irish emigrant, of Scottish origin, who, two years after the great war of Frederic of Prussia, fled to America for relief from indigence and oppression. His birth was in 1767, at a time when the people of our land were but a body of dependent colonists, scarcely more than two millions in number, scattered along an immense coast, with no army or navy, or union; and exposed to the attempts of England to control America by the aid of military force. His boyhood grew up in the midst of the contest with Great Britain. The first great political truth that reached his heart, was that all men are free and equal; the first great fact that beamed on his understanding, was his country's independence.

The strife, as it increased, came near the shades of his own upland residence. As a boy of thirteen, he witnessed the scenes of horror that accompany civil war; and when but a year older, with an elder brother, he shouldered his musket, and went forth to strike a blow for his country.

Joyous era for America and for humanity! But for him, the orphan boy, the events were full of agony and grief. His father was no more. His oldest brother fell a victim to the war of the revolution; another (his companion in arms) died of wounds received in their joint captivity; his mother went down to the grave a victim to grief and efforts to rescue her

sons; and when peace came, he was alone in the world, with no kindred to cherish him, and little inheritance but his own untried powers.

The nation which emancipated itself from British rule organizes itself: the Confederation gives way to the Constitution: the perfecting of that Constitution—that grand event of the thousand years of modern history—is accomplished: America exists as a people, gains unity as a government, and takes its place as a nation among the powers of the earth.

The lovers of adventure began to pour themselves into the territory, whose delicious climate and fertile soil invited the presence of social man. The hunter with his rifle and his axe, attended by his wife and children; the herdsman driving the few cattle that were to multiply as they browsed; the cultivator of the soil—all came to the inviting region. Wherever the bending mountains opened a pass—wherever the buffaloes and the beasts of the forest had made a trace, these sons of nature, children of humanity, in the highest sentiment of personal freedom, came to occupy the beautiful wilderness whose prairies blossomed everywhere profusely with wild flowers—whose woods in spring put to shame, by their magnificence, the cultivated gardens of man.

And now that these unlettered fugitives, educated only by the spirit of freedom, destitute of dead letter erudition, but sharing the living ideas of the age, had made their homes in the West—what would follow? Would they degrade themselves to ignorance and infidelity? Would they make the solitudes of the desert excuses for licentiousness? Would the doctrines of freedom lead them to live in unorganized society, destitute of laws and fixed institutions.

At a time when European society was becoming broken in pieces, scattered, disunited, and resolved into its elements, a scene ensued in Tennessee, than which nothing more beautifully grand is recorded in the annals of the race.

These adventurers in the wilderness longed to come together in organized society. The overshadowing genius of their time inspired them with good designs, and filled them with the counsels of wisdom. Dwellers in the forest, freest of the free, bound in the spirit, they came up by their representatives,

on foot, on horseback, through the forest, along the streams, by the buffalo traces, by the Indian paths, by the blazed forest avenues, to meet in convention among the mountains at Knoxville, and frame for themselves a Constitution. Andrew Jackson was there, the greatest man of them all—modest, bold, determined, demanding nothing for himself, and shrinking from nothing that his heart approved.

The next great office to be performed by America, is the taking possession of the wilderness. The magnificent Western valley cried out to the civilization of popular power, that it must be occupied by cultivated man.

Behold, then, our orphan hero, sternly earnest, consecrated to humanity from childhood by sorrow, having neither father, nor mother, nor sister, nor surviving brother, so young, and yet so solitary, and therefore bound the more closely to collective man—behold him elect for his lot to go forth and assist in laying the foundations of society in the great valley of the Mississippi.

At the time when Washington was pledging his own and future generations to the support of the popular institutions which were to be the light of the human race—at the time when the institutions of the Old World were rocking to their centre, and the mighty fabric that had come down from the middle ages was falling in—the adventurous Jackson, in the radiant glory and boundless hope and confident intrepidity of twenty-one, plunged into the wilderness, crossed the great mountain-barrier that divides the western waters from the Atlantic, followed the paths of the early hunters and fugitives, and, not content with the nearer neighborhood to his parent State, went still further and further to the west, till he found his home in the most beautiful region on the Cumberland. There, from the first, he was recognized as the great pioneer: under his courage, the coming emigrants were sure to find a shield.

The Convention came together on the 11th day of January, 1796, and finished its work on the 6th day of February. How had the wisdom of the Old World vainly tasked itself to frame constitutions, that could, at least, be the subject of experiment! The men of Tennessee, in less than twenty-five days, perfected a fabric, which, in its essential forms, was to last

forever. They came together, full of faith and reverence, of love to humanity, of confidence in truth. In the simplicity of wisdom, they framed their Constitution, acting under higher influences than they were conscious of—

> They wrought in sad sincerity,
> Themselves from God they could not free;
> They builded better than they knew—
> The conscious stones to beauty grew.

In the instrument which they framed, they embodied their faith in God, and in the immortal nature of man. They gave the right of suffrage to every freeman; they vindicated the sanctity of reason, by giving freedom of speech and of the press; they reverenced the voice of God, as it speaks in the soul of man, by asserting the indefeasible right of man to worship the Infinite according to his conscience; they established the freedom and equality of elections; and they demanded from every future legislator a solemn oath "never to consent to any act or thing whatever that shall have even a tendency to lesson the rights of the people."

These majestic lawgivers, wiser than the Solons, and Lycurguses, and Numas of the Old World—these prophetic founders of a State, who embodied in their Constitution the sublimest truths of humanity, acted without reference to human praises.

They kept no special record of their doings; they took no pains to vaunt their deeds; and when their work was done, knew not that they had finished one of the sublimest acts ever performed among men. They left no record, as to whose agency was conspicuous, whose eloquence swayed, whose generous will predominated: nor should we know, but for tradition, confirmed by what followed among themselves.

The men of Tennessee were now a people, and they were to send forth a man to stand for them in the Congress of the United States—that avenue to glory—that home of eloquence—the citadel of popular power; and, with one consent, they united in selecting the foremost man among the lawgivers—Andrew Jackson.

The love of the people of Tennessee followed him in the American Congress; and he had served but a single term,

when the State of Tennessee made him one of its Representatives in the American Senate, where he sat under the auspices of Jefferson.

Thus, when he was scarcely more than thirty, he had guided the settlement of the wilderness; swayed the deliberation of a people in establishing its fundamental laws; acted as the representative of that people, and again as the representative of his organized State, disciplined to a knowledge of the power of the people and the power of the States; the associate of republican statesmen, the friend and companion of Jefferson.

The men who framed the Constitution of the United States, many of them, did not know the innate life and self-preserving energy of the work. They feared that freedom could not endure, and planned a strong Government for its protection.

During his short career in Congress, Jackson showed his quiet, deeply-seated, innate, intuitive faith in human freedom, and in the institutions of freedom. He was ever, by his votes and opinions, found among those who had confidence in humanity; and in the great division of minds, this child of the woodlands, this representative of forest life in the West, was found modestly and firmly on the side of freedom. It did not occur to him to doubt the right of man to the free development of his powers; it did not occur to him to place a guardianship over the people; it did not occur to him to seek to give durability to popular institutions, by giving to Government a strength independent of popular will.

From the first, he was attached to the fundamental doctrines of popular power, and of the policy that favors it; and though his reverence for Washington surpassed his reverence for any human being, he voted against the address from the House of Representatives to Washington, on his retirement, because its language appeared to sanction the financial policy which he believed hostile to republican freedom.

During his period of service in the Senate, Jackson was elected major-general by the brigadiers and field officers of the militia of Tennessee. Resigning his place in the Senate, he was made Judge of the Supreme Court in law and equity; such was the confidence in his integrity of purpose, his clearness of judgment, and his vigor of will to deal justly among

the turbulent who crowded into the new settlements of Tennessee.

Thus, in the short period of nine years, Andrew Jackson was signalized by as many evidences of public esteem as could fall to the lot of man. The pioneer of the wilderness, the defender of its stations, he was their lawgiver, the sole representative of a new people in Congress, the representative of the State in the Senate, the highest in military command, the highest in judicial office. He seemed to be recognized as the first in love of liberty, the first in the science of legislation, in judgment, and integrity.

Fond of private life, he would have resigned the judicial office; but the whole country demanded his service. "Nature," they cried, "never designed that your powers of thought and independence of mind should be lost in retirement." But after a few years, relieving himself from the cares of the bench, he gave himself to the activity and the independent life of a husbandman. He carried into retirement the fame of natural intelligence, and was cherished as "a prompt, frank, and ardent soul." His vigor of character constituted him first among all with whom he associated. A private man as he was, his name was familiarly spoken round every hearthstone in Tennessee. Men loved to discuss his qualities. All discerned his power; and when the vehemence and impetuosity of his nature were observed upon, there were not wanting those who saw, beneath the blazing fires of his genius, the solidity of his judgment.

His hospitable roof sheltered the emigrant and the pioneer; and as they made their way to their new homes, they filled the mountain sides and the valleys with his praise.

Connecting himself, for a season, with a man of business, Jackson soon discerned the misconduct of his associate. It marked his character, that he insisted, himself, on paying every obligation that had been contracted; and rather than endure the vassalage of debt, he instantly parted with the rich domain which his early enterprise had acquired; with his own mansion; with the fields which he himself had first tamed to the ploughshare; with the forest whose trees were as familiar to him as his friends; and chose rather to dwell,

for a time, in a rude log-cabin, in the pride of independence and integrity.

On all great occasions, Jackson's influence was referred to. When Jefferson had acquired for the country the whole of Louisiana, and there seemed some hesitancy on the part of Spain to acknowledge our possession, the services of Jackson were solicited by the National Administration, and were not called into full exercise, only from the peaceful termination of the incidents that occasioned the summons.

In the long series of aggressions on the freedom of the seas, and the rights of the American flag, Jackson was on the side of his country, and the new maratime code of republicanism. In his inland home, where the roar of the breakers was never heard, and the mariner was never seen, he resented the continued aggression on our commerce and on our sailors.

When the continuance of wrong compelled the nation to resort to arms, Jackson, led by the instinctive knowledge of his own greatness, yet with a modesty that would have honored the most sensitive delicacy of nature, confessed his willingness to be employed on the Canada frontier; and it is a fact that he aspired to the command to which Winchester was appointed. We may ask, what would have been the result, if the command of the northwestern army had, at the opening of the war, been entrusted to a man who, in action, was ever so fortunate that his vehement will seemed to have made destiny capitulate to his designs?

The path of duty led him in another direction. On the declaration of war, twenty-five hundred volunteers had risen at his word to follow his standard; but, by countermanding orders from the seat of government, the movement was without effect.

A new and great danger hung over the West. The Indian tribes were to make one last effort to restore it to its solitude, and recover it for savage life. The brave, relentless Shawnees—who, from time immemorial, had strolled from the waters of the Ohio to the rivers of Alabama—were animated by Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, who spoke to them as with the voice of the Great Spirit, and roused the Creek nation to desperate massacres. Who has not heard of their

terrible deeds, when their ruthless cruelty spared neither sex nor age? when the infant and its mother, the planter and his family, who had fled for refuge to the fortress, the garrison that capitulated—all were slain, and not a vestige of defense was left in the country? The cry of the West demanded Jackson for its defender; and though his arm was then fractured by a ball, and hung in a sling, he placed himself at the head of the volunteers of Tennessee, and resolved to terminate forever the hereditary struggle.

Who can tell the horrors of that campaign? Who can paint rightly the obstacles which Jackson overcame—mountains, the scarcity of untenanted forests, winter, the failure of supplies from the settlements, the insubordination of troops, mutiny, menaces of desertion? Who can measure the wonderful power over men, by which his personal prowess and attractive energy drew them in midwinter from their homes, across mountains and morasses, and through trackless deserts? Who can describe the personal heroism of Jackson, never sparing himself, beyond any of his men, encountering toil and fatigue, sharing every labor of the camp and of the march, foremost in every danger; giving up his horse to the invalid soldier, while he himself waded through the swamps on foot? None equalled him in power of endurance; and the private soldiers, as they found him passing them on the march, exclaimed, "he is as tough as the hickory." "Yes," they cried to one another, "there goes Old Hickory!"

Who can narrate the terrible events of the double battles of Emucfaw, or the glorious victory of Tohopeka, where the anger of the general against the faltering, was more appalling than the war-whoop and the rifle of the savage? Who can rightly conceive the field of Enotochopco, where the general, as he attempted to draw the sword to cut down a flying colonel who was leading a regiment from the field, broke again the arm which was but newly knit together; and, quietly replacing it in the sling, with his commanding voice arrested the flight of the troops, and himself led them back to victory?

In six short months of vehement action, the most terrible Indian war in our annals, was brought to a close; the prophets were silenced; the consecrated region of the Creek nation re-

duced. Through scenes of blood, the avenging hero sought only the path to peace. Thus Alabama, a part of Mississippi, a part of his own Tennessee, and the highway to the Floridas, were his gifts to the Union. These were his trophies.

Genius as extraordinary as military events can call forth, was summoned into action in this rapid, efficient, and most fortunately conducted war.

Time would fail were I too track our hero down the water courses of Alabama to the neighborhood of Pensacola. How he longed to plant the eagle of his country on its embattlements!

Time would fail, and words be wanting, were I to dwell on the magical influence of his appearance in New-Orleans. His presence dissipated gloom and dispelled alarm; at once he changed the aspect of despair into a confidence of security and a hope of acquiring glory. Every man knows the tale of the heroic, sudden, and yet deliberate daring which led him, on the night of the 23d of December, to precipitate his little army on his foes, in the thick darkness, before they grew familiar with their encampment, scattering dismay through veteran regiments of England, and defeating them, and arresting their progress by a far inferior force.

Who shall recount the counsels of prudence, the kindling words of eloquence, that gushed from his lips to cheer his soldiers, his skirmishes and battles, till that eventful morning when the day at Bunker's Hill had its fulfillment in the glorious battle of New-Orleans, and American Independence stood before the world in the majesty of victorious power.

These were great deeds for the nation: for himself he did a greater. Had not Jackson been renowned for the vehement impetuosity of his passions, for his defiance of another's authority, and the unbending vigor of his self-will? Behold the savior of Louisiana, all garlanded with victory, viewing around him the city he had preserved, the maidens and children whom his heroism had protected, stand in the presence of a petty judge, who gratifies his wounded vanity by an abuse of his judicial power. Every breast in the crowded audience heaves with indignation. He, the passionate, the impetuous—he whose power was to be humbled, whose honor questioned,

whose laurels tarnished, alone stood sublimely serene; and when the craven judge trembled, and faltered, and dared not proceed, himself, the arraigned one, bade him take courage, and stood by the law even in the moment when the law was made the instrument of insult and wrong on himself—at the moment of his most perfect claim to the highest civic honors.

His country, when it grew to hold many more millions, the generation that then was coming in, has risen up to do homage to the noble heroism of that hour. Woman, whose feeling is always right, did honor from the first, to the purity of his heroism. The people of Louisiana, to the latest hour, will cherish his name as their greatest benefactor.

The culture of Jackson's mind had been much promoted by his services and associations in the war. His discipline of himself, as the chief in command, his intimate relations with men like Livingston, the wonderful deeds in which he bore a part, all matured his judgment and mellowed his character.

Peace came with its delights; once more the country rushed forward in the development of its powers; once more the arts of industry healed the wounds that war had inflicted, and from commerce, and agriculture, and manufactures, wealth gushed abundantly under the free activity of unrestrained enterprise.

And Jackson returned to his own fields, and his own pursuits, to cherish his plantation, to care for his servants, to look after his stud, and to enjoy the affection of his most kind and devoted wife, whom he respected with the gentlest deference, and loved with an almost miraculous tenderness.

And there he stood, like one of the mightiest forest trees of his own west, vigorous and colossal, sending its summit to the skies, and growing on its native soil in wild and inimitable magnificence, careless of beholders. From all parts of the country, he received appeals to his political ambition, but the severe modesty of his well-balanced mind turned them all aside. He was happy in his farm, happy in seclusion, happy in his family, happy within himself.

But the passions of the southern Indians were not allayed by the peace with Great Britain; and foreign emissaries were still among them, to inflame and direct their malignity. Jack-

son was called forth by his country, to restrain the cruelty of the treacherous and unsparing Seminoles. It was in the train of the events of this war, that he placed the American eagle on St. Mark's and above the ancient towers of St. Augustine. His deeds in that war, of themselves, form a monument to human power, to the celerity of his genius, to the creative fertility of his resources, and his intuitive sagacity. As Spain, in his judgment, had committed aggression, he would have emancipated her islands; of the Havanna, he caused the reconnoissance to be made; and with an army of five thousand men, he stood ready to guaranty her redemption from colonial thraldom.

But when peace was restored, and his office was accomplished, his physical strength sunk under the pestilential influence of the climate, and fast yielding to disease, he was borne in a litter across the swamps of Florida, towards his home. It was Jackson's character that he never solicited aid from any one; but he never forgot those who rendered him service in the hour of need. At a time when all around him believed him near his end, his wife hastened to his side, and by her tenderness and nursing care, her patient assiduity, and the soothing influence of devoted love, withheld him from the grave.

He would have remained quietly at his home, in repose, but he was privately informed that his good name was to be attainted by some intended congressional proceedings; he came therefore, into the presence of the people's representatives, at Washington, only to vindicate his name; and when that was achieved, he was once more communing with his own thoughts, among the groves of the Hermitage.

It was not his own ambition which brought him again to the public view. The affection of Tennessee compelled him to resume a seat on the floor of the American Senate, and, after years of the intensest political strife, Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States.

Far from advancing his own pretensions, he always kept them back, and had for years repressed the solicitations of his friends to become a candidate. He felt sensibly that he was devoid of scientific culture, and little familiar with letters;

and he never obtruded his opinions, or preferred claims to place. But, whenever his opinion was demanded, he was always ready to pronounce it; and whenever his country invoked his services, he did not shrink even from the station which had been filled by the most cultivated men our nation had produced.

Behold, then, the unlettered man of the West, the nursling of the wilds, the farmer of the Hermitage, little versed in books, unconnected by science with the tradition of the past, raised by the will of the people to the highest pinnacle of honor, to the central post in the civilization of republican freedom, to the station where all the nations of the earth would watch his actions—where his words would vibrate through the civilized world, and his spirit be the moving star to guide the nations. What policy will he pursue? What wisdom will he bring with him from the forest? What rules of duty will he evolve from the oracles of his own mind?

The man of the West came as the inspired prophet of the West: he came as one free from the bonds of hereditary or established custom; he came with no superior but conscience, nor oracle but his native judgment; and, true to his origin and his education—true to the conditions and circumstances of his advancement, he valued right more than usage; he reverted from the pressure of established interests to the energy of first principles.

We tread on ashes, where the fire is not extinguished; yet not to dwell on his career as President, were to leave out of view the grandest illustrations of his magnanimity.

The legislation of the United States had followed the precedents of European monarchies; it was the office of Jackson to lift the country out of the European forms of legislation, and to open to it a career resting on American sentiment and American freedom. He would have freedom every where—freedom under the restraints of right; freedom of industry, of commerce, of mind, of universal action; freedom, unshackled by restrictive privileges, unrestrained by the thraldom of monopolies.

The unity of his mind and his consistency were without a parallel. With natural dialectics, he developed the political

doctrines that suited every emergency, with a precision and a harmony that no theorist could hope to equal. On every subject in politics—I speak but a fact—he was thoroughly, and profoundly, and immovably radical; and would sit for hours, and in a continued flow of remark, make the application of his principles to every question that could arise in legislation, or in the interpretation of the Constitution.

His expression of himself was so clear, that his influence pervaded not our land only, but all America and all mankind. They say that, in the physical world, the magnetic fluid is so diffused, that its vibrations are discernable simultaneously in every part of the globe. So it is with the element of freedom. And as Jackson developed its doctrines from their source in the mind of humanity, the popular sympathy was moved and agitated throughout the world, till his name grew every where to be the symbol of popular power.

Himself the witness of the ruthlessness of savage life, he planned the removal of the Indian tribes beyond the limits of the organized States; and it is the result of his determined policy that the region east of the Mississippi has been transferred to the exclusive possession of cultivated man.

A pupil of the wilderness, his heart was with the pioneers of American life towards the setting sun. No American statesman has ever embraced within his affections a scheme so liberal for the emigrants as that of Jackson. He longed to secure to them, not pre-emption rights only, but more than pre-emption rights. He longed to invite labor to take possession of the unoccupied fields, without money and without price; with no obligation except the perpetual devotion of itself by allegiance to its country. Under the beneficent influence of his opinions, the sons of misfortune, the children of adventure, find their way to the uncultivated West. There, in some wilderness glade, or in the thick forest of the fertile plain, or where the prairies most sparkle with flowers, they, like the wild bee which sets them the example of industry, may choose their home, mark the extent of their possessions by driving stakes or blazing trees, shelter their log cabin with boughs and turf, and teach the virgin soil to yield itself to the plowshare. Theirs shall be the soil, theirs the beauti-

ful farms which they teach to be productive. Come, children of sorrow! you on whom the Old World frowns; crowd fearlessly to the forests; plant your homes in confidence, for the country watches over you; your children grow around you as hostages, and the wilderness, at your bidding, surrenders its grandeur of useless luxuriance to the beauty and loveliness of culture. Yet beautiful and lovely as is this scene, it still by far falls short of the ideal which lived in the affections of Jackson. His heart was ever with the pioneer; his policy ever favored the diffusion of independent freeholds throughout the laboring classes of our land.

It would be a sin against the occasion were I to omit to commemorate the deep devotedness of Jackson to the cause and to the rights of labor. It was for the welfare of the laboring classes that he defied all the storms of political hostility. He longed to secure to labor the fruits of its own industry; and he unceasingly opposed every system which tended to lessen their reward, or which exposed them to be defrauded of their dues. The laborers may bend over his grave with affectionate sorrow; for never in the tide of time did a statesman exist, more heartily resolved to protect them in their rights, and to advance their happiness. For their benefit, he opposed partial legislation; for their benefit, he resisted all artificial methods of controlling labor, and subjecting it to capital. It was for their benefit that he loved freedom in all its forms—freedom of the individual in personal independence, freedom of the States as separate sovereignties. He never would listen to counsels which tended to the centralization of power. The true American system presupposesthe diffusion of freedom—organized life in all the parts of the body politic, as there is organized life in every part of the human system. Jackson was deaf to every counsel which sought to subject general labor to a central will. His vindication of the just principles of the Constitution derived its sublimity from his deep conviction that this strict construction is required by the lasting welfare of the great laboring classes of the United States.

To this end, Jackson revived the tribunical power of the veto, and exerted it against the decisive action of both branches of Congress; against the votes, the wishes, the entreaties of

personal and political friends. "Show me," was his reply to them, "show me an express clause in the Constitution authorizing Congress to take the business of State Legislatures out of their hands." "You will ruin us all," cried a firm partisan friend, "you will ruin your party and your own prospects." "Providence," answered Jackson, "will take care of me;" and he persevered.

In proceeding to discharge the debt of the United States—a measure thoroughly American—Jackson followed the example of his predecessors; but he followed it with the full consciousness that he was rescuing the country from the artificial system of finance which had prevailed throughout the world; and with him it formed a part of a system by which American legislation was to separate itself more and more effectually from European precedents, and develope itself more and more according to the vital principles of our political existence.

The discharge of the debt brought with it, of necessity, a great reduction of the public burdens, and brought, of necessity, into view, the question, how far America should follow, or how far she should rely on her own freedom and enterprize and power, defying the competition, and seeking the market, and receiving the products of the world.

The mind of Jackson on this subject reasoned clearly, and without passion. In the abuses of the system of revenue by excessive imposts, he saw evils which the public mind would remedy; and, inclining with the whole might of his energetic nature to the side of revenue duties, he made his earnest but tranquil appeal to the judgment of the people.

The portions of country that suffered most severely from a system of legislation, which, in its extreme character as it then existed, is now universally acknowledged to have been unequal and unjust, were less tranquil; and rallying on the doctrines of freedom which made our Government a limited one, they saw in the oppressive acts an assumption of power which was nugatory, because it was exercised, as they held, without authority from the people.

The contest that ensued was the most momentous in our annals. The greatest minds in America engaged in the discussion. Eloquence never achieved sublimer triumphs in the

American Senate than on those occasions. The country became deeply divided; and the antagonist elements were arrayed against each other under forms of clashing authority, menacing civil war; the freedom of the several States was invoked against the power of the United States; and under the organization of a State in Convention, the reserved rights of the people were summoned to display their energy, and balance the authority and neutralize the legislation of the central government. The States were agitated with prolonged excitement; the friends of freedom throughout the world looked on with divided sympathies, praying that the union of the States might be perpetual, and also that the commerce of the world might be free.

Fortunately for the country, and fortunately for mankind, Andrew Jackson was at the helm of State, the representative of the principles that were to allay excitement, and to restore the hopes of peace and freedom By nature, by impulse, by education, by conviction, a friend to personal freedom—by education, political sympathies, and the fixed habit of his mind, a friend to the rights of the States—unwilling that the liberty of the States should be trampled under foot—unwilling that the Constitution should lose its vigor or be impaired, he rallied for the Constitution; and in its name he published to the world "THE UNION: IT MUST BE PRESERVED." The words were a spell to hush evil passion, and to remove oppression. Under his guiding influence, the favored interests which had struggled to perpetuate unjust legislation, yielded to the voice of moderation and reform; and every mind that had for a moment contemplated a rupture of the States, discarded it forever. The whole influence of the past was invoked in favor of the Constitution—from the council chambers of the fathers, who moulded our institutions—from the hall where American Independence was declared, the clear, loud cry was uttered—"the Union: it must be preserved." From every battle-field of the revolution—from Lexington and Bunker Hill—from Saratoga and Yorktown—from the fields of Eutaw—from the canebrakes that sheltered the men of Marion—the repeated, long-prolonged echoes came up—"the Union: it must be preserved." From every valley in our land—from every cabin on the pleasant

mountain sides—from the ships at our wharves—from the tent of the hunter in our westernmost prairies—from the living minds of the living millions of American freemen—from the thickly coming glories of futurity—the shout went up, like the sound of many waters, "the Union: it must be preserved." The friends of the protective system, and they who had denounced the protective system—the statesmen of the North, that had wounded the Constitution in their love of centralism—the statesmen of the South, whose minds had carried to its extreme the theory of State rights—all conspired together; all breathed prayers for the perpetuity of the Union. Under the prudent firmness of Jackson—under the mixture of justice and general regard for all interests, the greatest danger to our institutions was turned aside, and mankind was encouraged to believe that our Union, like our freedom, was imperishable.

The moral of the great events of those days is this: that the people can discern right, and will make their way to a knowledge of right; that the whole human mind, and therefore with it the mind of the nation, has a continuous, ever-improving existence; that the appeal from the unjust legislation of to-day must be made quietly, earnestly, perseveringly, to the more enlightened, collective reason of to-morrow; that submission is due to the popular will, in the confidence that the people, when in error, will amend their doings; that in a popular government injustice is neither to be established by force, nor to be resisted by force; in a word, that the Union, which was constituted by consent, must be preserved by love.

It rarely falls to the happy lot of a statesman to receive such unanimous applause from the heart of a nation. Duty to the dead demands that, on this occasion, the course of measures should not pass unnoticed, in the progress of which his vigor of character most clearly appeared, and his conflict with opposing parties most violent and protracted.

From his home in Tennessee, Jackson came to the Presidency resolved to lift American legislation out of the forms of English legislation, and to place our laws on the currency in harmony with the principles of our government. He came to the Presidency of the United States resolved to deliver the Government from the Bank of the United States, and to restore

the regulation of exchanges to the rightful depository of that power—the commerce of the country. He had designed to declare his views on this subject in his inaugural address, but was persuaded to relinquish that purpose, on the ground that it belonged rather to a legislative message. When the period for addressing Congress drew near, it was still urged that to attack the bank would forfeit his popularity, and secure his future defeat. "It is not," he answered, "it is not for myself that I care." It was urged that haste was unnecessary, as the bank had still six unexpended years of chartered existence. "I may die," he replied, "before another Congress comes together, and I could not rest quietly in my grave, if I failed to do what I hold so essential to the liberty of my country." And his first annual message announced to the country that the bank was neither constitutional nor expedient. In this he was in advance of the friends about him, in advance of Congress, and in advance of his party. This is no time for the analysis of measures or the discussion of questions of political economy; on the present occasion, we have to contemplate the character of the man.

Never, from the first moment of his administration to the last, was there a calm in the strife of parties on the subject of the currency; and never, during the whole period, did he recede or falter. Always in advance of his party—always having near him friends who cowered before the hardihood of his courage—he himself, throughout all the contest, was unmoved from the first suggestion of the unconstitutionality of the bank to the moment when he himself, first of all, reasoning from the certain tendency of its policy with singular sagacity predicted to unbelieving friends, the coming insolvency of the institution.

The storm throughout the country rose with unexampled vehemence; his opponents were not satisfied with addressing the public, or Congress, or his cabinet; they threw their whole force personally on him. From all parts men pressed around him, urging him, entreating him to bend. Congress was flexible, many of his personal friends faltered; the impetuous swelling wave rolled on, without one sufficient obstacle, till it reached his presence; but, as it dashed in its highest fury at

his feet, broke before his firmness. The commanding majesty of his will appalled his opponents and revived his friends. He, himself, had a proud consciousness that his will was indomitable. Standing over the rocks of the Rip Raps, and looking out upon the ocean, "Providence," said he to a friend, "Providence may change my determination; but man no more can do it, than he can remove these Rip Raps, which have resisted the rolling ocean from the beginning of time." And though a panic was spreading through the land, and the whole credit system, as it then existed, was crumbling to pieces, and crushing around him, he stood erect, like a massive column, which the heaps of falling ruins could not break, nor bend, nor sway from its fixed foundation.

[At this point Mr. Bancroft turned to address the Mayor of the city of Washington; but finding him not present, he proceeded.]

People of the District of Columbia: I should fail of a duty on this occasion, if I did not give utterance to your sentiment of gratitude which followed General Jackson into retirement. Dwelling amongst you, he desired your prosperity. This beautiful city is surrounded by heights the most attractive, watered by a river so magnificent, the home of the gentle and the cultivated, not less than the seat of political power—this city, whose site Washington had selected—was dear to his affections; and if he won your grateful attachment by adorning it with monuments of useful architecture, by establishing its credit, and relieving its burdens, he regretted only that he had not the opportunity to have connected himself still more intimately with your prosperity.

As he prepared to take his final leave of the District, the masses of the population of this city, and the masses that had gathered from around, followed his carriage in crowds. All in silence stood near him to wish him adieu; and as the cars started, and he displayed his gray hairs, as he lifted his hat in token of farewell, you stood around with heads uncovered, too full of emotion to speak, in solemn silence gazing on him as he departed, never more to be seen in your midst.

Behold the warrior and statesman, his work well done, retired to the Hermitage, to hold converse with his forests, to

cultivate his farm, to gather around him hospitably his friends! Who was like him? He was still the load-star of the American people. His fervid thoughts, frankly uttered, still spread the flame of patriotism through the American breast; his counsels were still listened to with reverence; and almost alone among statesmen, he in his retirement was in harmony with every onward movement of his time. His prevailing influence assisted to sway a neighboring nation to desire to share our institutions; his ear heard the footsteps of coming millions that are to gladden our western shores; and his eye discerned in the dim distance the whitening sails that are to enliven the waters of the Pacific with the social sounds of our successful commerce.

Age had whitened his locks, and dimmed his eye, and spread around him the infirmities and venerable emblems of many years of toilsome service; but his heart beat as warmly as in his youth, and his courage was as firm as it had ever been in the day of battle. But while his affections were still for his friends and his country, his thoughts were already in a better world. That exalted mind, which in active life had always had unity of perception and will, and which in action had never faltered from doubt, and which in counsel had always reverted to first principles and general laws, now gave itself up to communing with the Infinite. He was a believer—from feeling, from experience, from conviction. Not a shadow of skepticism ever dimmed the lustre of his mind. Proud philosopher! will you smile to know that Andrew Jackson perused reverently his Psalter and Prayer-book, and Bible? Know that Andrew Jackson had faith in the eternity of truth—in the imperishable power of popular freedom—in the destinies of humanity—in the virtues and capacity of the people—in his country's institutions—in the being and overruling Providence of a merciful and ever-living God.

The last moment of his life on earth is at hand. It is the sabbath of the Lord: the brightness and beauty of summer clothe the fields around him; nature is in her glory; but the sublimest spectacle on that day on earth, was the victory of his unblenching spirit over death itself.

When he first felt the hand of death upon him, "May my

enemies," he cried, "find peace; may the liberties of my country endure for ever." When his exhausted system, under the excess of pain, sunk for a moment, from debility, "Do not weep," said he to his adopted daughter, "my sufferings are less than those of Christ upon the cross;" for he too, as a disciple of the cross, could have devoted himself, in sorrow, for mankind. Feeling his end near, he would see all of his family once more; and he spoke to them, one by one, in words of tenderness and affection. His two little grand children were absent at Sunday school. He asked for them; and as they came, he prayed for them, and kissed them, and blessed them. His servants were then admitted; they gathered, some in his room, and some on the outside of the house, clinging to the windows, that they might gaze and hear. And that dying man, thus surrounded, in a gush of fervid eloquence, spoke with inspiration, of God, of the Redeemer, of salvation through the atonement, of immortality, of heaven. For he ever thought that pure and undefiled religion was the foundation of private happiness, and the bulwark of republican institutions. Having spoken of immortality in perfect consciousness of his own approaching end, he bade them all farewell. "Dear children," such were his final words, "dear children, servants and friends, I trust to meet you all in heaven, both white and black—all, both white and black." And having borne his testimony to immortality, he bowed his mighty head, and without a groan, the spirit of the greatest man of his age escaped to the bosom of his God.

In life, his career had been like the blaze of sun in the fierceness of its noon-day glory; his death was lovely as the mildest sunset of a summer's evening, when the sun goes down in tranquil beauty without a cloud. To the majestic energy of an indomitable will, he joined a heart capable of the purest and most devoted love, rich in the tenderest affections. On the bloody battle-field of Tohopeca, he saved an infant that clung to the breast of its dying mother; in the stormiest moment of his Presidency, at the imminent moment of his decision, he paused in his way, to give counsel to a poor suppliant that had come up to him for succor. Of the strifes in which he was engaged in his earlier life, not one

sprung from himself; but in every case he became involved by standing forth as the champion of the weak, the poor, and the defenseless, to shelter the gentle against oppression, to protect the emigrant against the avarice of the speculator. His generous soul revolted at the barbarous practice of duels, and by no man in the land have so many been prevented.

The sorrows of those that were near to him went deeply into his soul; and at the anguish, of the wife whom he loved, the orphans whom he adopted, he would melt into tears, and weep and sob like a child.

No man in private life so possessed the heart of all around him—no public man of this century ever returned to private life with such an abiding mastery over the affections of the people. No man with truer instinct received American ideas —no man expressed them so completely, or so boldly, or so sincerely. He was as sincere a man as ever lived. He was wholly, always, and altogether sincere and true.

Up to the last, he dared do anything that it was right to do. He united personal courage and moral courage beyond any man of whom history keeps the record. Before the nation, before the world, before coming ages, he stands forth the re-representative, for his generation, of the American mind. And the secret of his greatness is this: By intuitive conception, he shared and possessed all the creative ideas of his country and his time. He expressed them with dauntless intrepidity; he enforced them with an immovable will; he executed them with an electric power that attracted and swayed the American people. The nation, in his time, had not one great thought, of which he was not the boldest and clearest expositor.

History does not describe the man that equalled him in firmness of nerve. Not danger, not an army, in battle array, not wounds, not wide spread clamor, not age, not the anguish of disease, could impair in the least degree the vigor of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character; and Napoleon, had he possessed his disinterested will, could never have been vanquished. Jackson was never vanquished. He was always fortunate. He conquered the wilderness; he conquered the savage; he conquered the bravest veterans

trained in the battle fields of Europe; he conquered everywhere in statesmanship; and, when death came to get the mastery over him, he turned that last enemy aside as tranquilly as he had done the feeblest of his adversaries, and escaped from earth in the triumphant consciousness of immortality.

His body has its fit resting place in the great central valley of the Mississippi; his spirit rests upon our whole territory; it hovers over the vales of Oregon, and guards, in advance, the frontier of the Del Norte. The fires of party spirit are quenched at his grave. His faults and frailties have perished. Whatever of good he has done, lives, and will live forever.

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